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ABSTRACT

This subunit on totalitarianism in the USSR is part of an eleventh grade course on area studies. Following an introduction with suggested teaching strategies, the objectives for the subunit are listed as to generalizations, skills, and attitudes. A double-page format relates objectives with pertinent content, teaching procedures, and instructional materials. The political, economic, and social systems which are studied in this subunit are designed to help pupils understand the relationships among them and the extent to which the government influences all aspects of life. The materials promote an understanding that the system is not static and that to label countries totalitarian or democratic really involves the use of ideal types. Students decide where they would place the USSR and the United States in terms of a continuum from democracy to totalitarianism. A teacher's guide to the entire course is SO 006 320. A teacher's supplement to the USSR unit is SO 006 324; other subunits on the USSR are SO 006 325; SO 006 326, and SO 006 328. (Author/KSM)

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Grade Eleven
Unit: The Totalitarian State

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RESOURCE UNIT

SO 006 327

These materials were developed by the Project Social Studies Curriculum Center of the University of Minnesota under a special grant from the U.S. Office of Education (Project HS-045).

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SUB-UNIT ON THE U.S.S.R.: A TOTALITARIAN STATE

This sub-unit is divided into three parts dealing with the political system, t system and other aspects of the social system. They are combined in one part more clearly how a totalitarian government affects all aspects of life.

It should be noted that the flow within the political section calls for pupils (1) generalize from a comparison of accounts by refugees, visitors, and those not visited the U.S.S.R.; (2) check these generalizations against Soviet sourc statements by Soviet leaders and excerpts from the criminal code, and (3) draw conclusions from all of this data.

This sub-unit calls for the use of a wide reading program. No one text is use many reasons. First, one of the goals is to help pupils learn to evaluate sou information and to compare sources. Second, text accounts provide only the ba of the political system; the materials suggested for reading should help pupil impact of the totalitarian system upon the individual and should provide the generalizing. Third, these accounts are more interesting than text accounts.

Part of the work in this unit calls for group or individual reports based upon ferent reading done by students. However, much of the unit is developed throu sion based upon the wide reading. Even though pupils have read different acco have focused upon the same questions as they read and can discuss these questi change information using concrete examples from their reading. Differences wh the discussion will lead pupils to an analysis of sources of information and t for comparing accounts.

Different discussion strategies are called for during the course of this sub-u quently the suggestion is made that the teacher begin a discussion with a broa versial question and ask pupils to back up their arguments with factual informa This strategy is highly useful at times whether pupils have read the same or s ferent accounts. It is used in a number of places in this sub-unit.

A second strategy is frequently useful when pupils have read a variety of sour which there are differences in the presentation of facts and in interpretatio oneaim of the activity is to have pupils generalize from facts and evaluate sc This strategy is used at several places in the sub-unit. It calls for having

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factual questions first. (e.g. What have their books indicated were reasons fo
What have their books indicated about the use of trials?) As pupils suggest conc
amples from their books, the class can note points of agreement, points of disagr
facts suggested in some books which are neither contradicted nor supported by oth
and possible reasons for differences in data. They can classify data, decide wha
seem to be supported and which are doubtful, and generalize tentatively on the ba
all of the data presented. Such a discussion strategy does not start with the in
arousing controversial question. However, it does stimulate interest because pup
sent interesting concrete data and examples which the other pupils have not come
in their books and they are on the alert to compare the examples with what they h

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longer available in print. They are not excluded here since many of them will be
in school and public libraries. If schools are unable to obtain access to the ma
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things. First, he may find that he has enough books so that at least some of the
can read such books while others read textual accounts. He can still conduct a d
using those who have read these accounts as resource persons and asking other cla
bers to compare what is presented with what they have read in texts and pamphlets
he may obtain permission to mimeograph sections of some of the books from the Sta
and also some of the shorter articles which have appeared in news magazines. He
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OBJECTIVES FOR SUB-UNIT ON A TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM

This sub-unit should make progress toward developing the following:

GENERALIZATIONS

*1. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

  a. The community demands order and stability -- goals which may be incompatible with the demands of individuals. In totalitarian countries the individual rights are sacrificed for the good of the state.

  b. Freedoms' relationship to democracy is a close and obvious one; the organization of majorities, the competition in goals, and the ability to oppose which democracy presupposes--all depend on a high degree of personal freedom.

2. Ideology represents a set of values in which there is belief and ego-involvement and which are, therefore, difficult to surrender.

  *a. People with different ideologies may perceive the same scene and their ideologies will give it sharply different meaning and significance -- maybe even different perception of the facts.

  *b. Ideology is associate
  ple in the political
  greatest political aw
  ment and information.

  c. Ideologies are importa
  ture they give to the
  nomic and social syst
  they give to ambiguou
  the cues for response

  d. No society lives up c
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3. Totalitarianisms extend
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  *a. The unity and homogen
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    1) Totalitarianism ca
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  b. Totalitarianism finds
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*b. Ideology is associated with those people in the political system with the greatest political awareness, involvement and information.

c. Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political, economic and social system, the answers they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for response they suggest.

d. No society lives up completely to its ideology.

3. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

   *a. The unity and homogenity of life which totalitarianism demands is contrary to the pluralism of liberal democracy.

      1) Totalitarianism cannot tolerate the existence of groups or institutions which may be the source of loyalties which compete with or diminish those to the state.

   b. Totalitarianism finds it impossible to coerce a large population constantly;

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ective has been taught in an earlier part of the Unit on the Soviet Union.

Instead it coerces indirectly by controlling wills, fears, etc. through the use of symbols and mass media.

1) Since democracy is the chief political expectation of the times, oligarchies have had to accept the symbols and forms of democracy if not its substance.

   a) Oligarchies maintain themselves within the forms of democracy by control of resources, information, attention, and expertise.

2) Control of political communication is effective control of political behavior.

   a) Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators; they react to those images rather than to the real world and real people.

   *b) Most political communication depends on the use of symbols, negative and positive sterotypes, and other communication shortcuts; effective communication depends on the effective manipulation of these symbolic tools.

   c) Effective political communication depends both on technolog-
   ical skills and
   the population.

3) Totalitarianism may
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4) Agencies of politic
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   a) Freedom is cultu
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   what the options
   about exercising
   should exercise

4. Political power is uneve
through a population.

*5. It is unlikely that one
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demand a variety of ski
does not possess.

   *a. Every decision-maker
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) Effective political communication depends both on technological skills and on the skills of the population.

3) Totalitarianism may seek to alter the content of the arts to use them for the propagandistic and symbolic purposes of the totalitarian political system.

4) Agencies of political socialization include those within thd political system as well as those without (such as mass media, social groups, etc.); in fact, totalitarian political systems are marked by governmental dominance of this process.

    a) Freedom is culturally determined; the individual has to be taught what the options are, how one goes about exercising them, why he should exercise them.

4. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population.

*5. It is unlikely that one could find many genuine autocracies (rule by one) in complex modern governments; they are very likely really oligarchies. The scope of government and the variety of clienteles demand a variety of skills that one man does not possess.

    *a. Every decision-maker is dependent on advice, knowledge, information, and political intelligence; as a result, those advisors who can provide him with them have an important base for exerting power and influence on the official.

1) The relative centralization or decentralization of power within political parties is related to the centralization or decentralization of authority within the political system as a whole.

2) One-party systems tend to develop a competitiveness within the dominant party, but this factional competitiveness lacks the stability and predictability of inter-party competition.

d. Oligarchies have had persistent trouble in solving the problem of succession, especially where it has abandoned the succession by birth.

e. There are strains betwee
ideal of dictatorship an
zational demands of mode
society.

*6. Decision-making in a democra
by several groups and is su
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*7. Any decision is in part a p
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b. The decision-maker react
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9. The leadership of any group
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e. There are strains between the political ideal of dictatorship and the organizational demands of modern industrial society.

*6. Decision-making in a democracy is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

*7. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

. Political decision-making is limited by many factors: permissability, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

*a. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made; actual institutions may not conform with those in constitutional documents.

b. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision makers and to public opinion; however, the way in which these factors influence decision-making differs in democratic and totalitarian societies.

9. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and also organize its strategies and provide intellectual leadership.

10. The type of leader differs in different situations.

    a. The requirements for leadership change; as an organization or government develops, the need for leaders with administrative skills tends to replace the need for charismatic leaders.

11. Recent totalitarianisms have often been symbolized and epitomized by the political leader. Instead of demanding the full and total loyalty to the abstraction of the state, the totalitarian regime personalizes that loyalty in the leader.

12. Political activity, by which the individual seeks his goals and interests through the political system, takes any number of forms, depending on the nature of the system and varies greatly in incidence.

*13. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals.

    a. Conflict serves to establish and maintain boundary lines of societies and groups. (In one-party countries it is necessary to identify the party with the country or invent an "enemy" to hold the party together.)

    *b. Groups engaged in continued struggle with the outside tend to be intolerant within. They are unlikely to
tolerate more than limi
from group unity.

14. Compromise is easier wher
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    a. Individuals tend to mo
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    true-false, black and
    which make compromise
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*15. Industrial capacity and e
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*16. The world is a community
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parts.)

*17. Every economic system fac
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satisfy all human wants.

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    want, they cannot be u
    another. Only when re
    employed, will more ex
    one thing, lead to the
    more of something els

    b. If productive resourc
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tolerate more than limited departures from group unity.

14. Compromise is easier where there is not an ideological perception of the issues, that is, where the issues are not moralized and not seen as related to other issues.

    a. Individuals tend to moralize their ideologies into right-wrong, good-bad, true-false, black and white dichotomies, which make compromise difficult if not immoral.

*15. Industrial capacity and energy sources are important bases for national power.

*16. The world is a community of interdependent countries. (Important political happenings in one part of the world affect other parts.)

*17. Every economic system faces scarcity or a lack of enough productive resources to satisfy all human wants.

    a. If resources are used to satisfy one want, they cannot be used to satisfy another. Only when resources are unemployed, will more expenditures on one thing, lead to the production of more of something else.

    b. If productive resources are fully employed, investment in capital goods for future production requires some sacrifice in current production.

1) The larger the productive capacity in relationship to the population, the less the hardship involved to consumers in making the savings (and investments) needed to achieve a given growth rate.

c. Misallocation of resources costs consumers what they could otherwise have had.

18. At any specific time, the total economic output is affected by the quantity and quality of productive resources (natural resources, labor, and capital goods), by the levels of technology, and by the efficiency of the organizational structure.

a. Economic output is affected by the quality of labor or labor skills as well as by the quantity of labor.

1) The quality of labor is usually increased by education and training.

*2) Labor productivity may rise both from the activities of workers themselves and from the accumulation of capital and technological and managerial advance.

b. Output can be increased by technological progress in the development of tools and machines and power to replace manpower.

*c. Capital formation through s
a major means of increasin
total output over time beca
creases productive capacity

d. The organizational structu
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of it (such as agriculture
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e. The rational use of resour
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f. Differences in productivit
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19. The fundamental difference be
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nd machines and power to re-
anpower.

*c. Capital formation through saving is a major means of increasing an economy's total output over time because it increases productive capacity.

d. The organizational structure of the total economy or of any large sector of it (such as agriculture) affects efficiency or production and output, just as does the organizational structure within a single firm.

e. The rational use of resources calls for the use of more of those resources in large supply as a substitute for those in short supply, even if a different balance might increase output per man hour.

f. Differences in productivity and in levels of living may result from differences in the stage of development rather than in the type of economic system per se.

19. The fundamental difference between economic systems is in how and by whom the basic economic decisions over allocation of resources are made rather than in who owns the resources.

    a. The power to allocate resources is important to the power to control what and how much will be produced.

    b. Economic systems are usually mixed, with both public and private ownership and with decisions made both by the government and by consumers.

c. In practice in communist countries the means of production are almost all owned by the government.

d. In command economies most of the basic economic decisions are made by the government.

   1) The allocation of resources in a command economy is determined basically by the central planners, not by free comsumer demand.

   2) Centrally planned economies find it easier to divert resources to certain goals than do governments in economies based upon a market system.

   3) Even in a centrally planned economy, economic planners cannot make all of the decisions as to all of the details of what, how much, and how things shall be produced.

e. Most economic systems are in the process of constant change.

20. As economic systems become more mature and complex, centralized planning becomes more difficult, although modern computers facilitate the detailed planning needed.

a. The lack of techniques for measuring the value of capital makes it difficult to determine the m
use of capital investme
goals and to decide whe
or more economic to bui
ies or buy new machines
repair old ones.

b. The lack of a free mark
it difficult to evaluat
of managers of plants.

c. Both centralized and de
economic planning ha
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21. By its taxation policies,
fluence who shall get what
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a. Indirect taxes take a l
the income of those in
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22. Levels of living are affec
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lack of techniques for measuring value of capital makes it difficult to determine the most efficient use of capital investment in achieving goals and to decide when it is cheaper or more economic to build new factories or buy new machines rather than to repair old ones.

b. The lack of a free market system makes it difficult to evaluate the efficiency of managers of plants.

c. Both centralized and decentralized economic planning have advantages and disadvantages in terms of the rational use of resources to achieve the major goals of planning for an entire economy.

21. By its taxation policies, governments influence who shall get what proportion of certain kinds of output of the economic system.

    a. Indirect taxes take a larger part of the income of those in lower income levels than of those in upper income levels if both groups buy the goods on which the taxes are placed.

22. Levels of living are affected by the amount of goods and services money incomes can buy, not just by changes in money incomes which may be affected by changes in prices.

23. It is difficult to compare real wages between countries because of differences in the importance of different types of goods for consumers, because of difficulties of assessing the comparative purchasing power

of different monetary systems, because of difficulties of estimating cost of living (because of different prices for similar goods), because of the difference in quality of goods, and because of differences in the amount of socialized benefits provided by the different countries.

24. People tend to work hardest at those jobs for which they receive the greatest incentives (monetary and non-monetary).

    a. In practice economic incentives in communist countries do not differ greatly from those in mature capitalist countries.

25. Industrial conflict does not occur in all societies; it does not occur in a dictatorship which uses force to suppress internal conflict.

26. If purchasing power increases without some corresponding increase of available materials, there is an upward pressure on prices.

27. In all societies people have certain economic goals. Although some goals are very much alike, different societies place differing emphasis upon them.

    a. People differ in the degree to which they desire economic justice or a
    reduction in inequalitie
    opportunity or income.

    b. People differ in the deg
    they desire freedom of e
    (of occupation and dispo
    as a goal of their econo

    c. People usually would lik
    economic system provide
    growth (and so higher le
    and stability (and so ec
    however, the emphasis on
    differ.

        1) People's ideas of wha
        an adequate level of
        as average living lev

*28. Whenever things valued by
scarce, there will be diff
cess to and control of the
scarce things by sub-group
society.

    *a. Control of one or a few
    may enable the group to
    other scarce things and
    their control of power.

    *b. Societies differ in the
    of ascribed and achieve
    provide and the relativ
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29. The amount of class confli
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lties of estimating cost of
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from those in mature capi-
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ieties people have certain
goals. Although some goals
uch alike, different socie-
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differ in the degree to which
sire economic iustice or a

reduction in inequalities of economic opportunity or income.

b. People differ in the degree to which they desire freedom of economic choice (of occupation and disposal of income) as a goal of their economic system.

c. People usually would like to see their economic system provide both economic growth (and so higher levels of living) and stability (and so economic security); however, the emphasis on each goal may differ.

   1) People's ideas of what constitutes an adequate level of living changes as average living levels change.

*28. Whenever things valued by a society are scarce, there will be differentiated access to and control of these valued and scarce things by sub-groups within the society.

   *a. Control of one or a few scarce things may enable the group to get control of other scarce things and thus pyramid their control of power.

   *b. Societies differ in the relative number of ascribed and achieved statuses they provide and the relative emphasis upon each.

29. The amount of class conflict is related to the degree of difference among classes,

the degree of vertical mobility possible, and the degree to which propaganda is used to arouse class conflict.

*30. Those who benefit most from the stratification system are most likely to accept it and most likely to oppose change.

*31. The more industrialized and urbanized the society, the greater the mobility between classes.

*32. The more widespread the system of education, the greater the vertical mobility.

33. Families in different cultures have different functions. Family functions may vary over time and from group to group within a society.

*34. The structure of the family varies from society to society and from one group to another within any society.

*35. In different societies or in different groups in any one society, some emotions and sentiments are strongly repressed; others are encouraged. As a result any one group has a modal personality or personalities among its adults.

36. Members of any group may join it for varying reasons, some of which have nothing to do with the goals of the organization.

*37. The degree of horizonta
a society (including sh
from rural to urban are
portant effects upon a

*38. Although culture is alw
tain parts or elements
long periods of time.

*a. Culture may change
diffusion.

*b. People do not change
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*c. Even when a major re
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d; others are encouraged. As a
any one group has a modal per-
ty or personalities among its
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of any group may join it for
g reasons, some of which have
g to do with the goals of the
zation.

*37. The degree of horizontal mobility within a society (including shifts of population from rural to urban areas) can have important effects upon a society.

*38. Although culture is always changing, certain parts or elements may persist over long periods of time.

  *a. Culture may change through a process of diffusion.

  *b. People do not change their behavior unless they feel a need to change.

  *c. Even when a major reorganization of a society takes place (such as a revolution), not all of a culture is completely modified.

  *d. Changes in one aspect of a culture will have effects on other aspects; changes will ramify whether they are technological, in social organization, in ideology, or whatever else is a part of the cultural system.

  e. All the institutions in a society are related; because of this interrelationship, a change in one institution is likely to affect other institutions. (Changes in the family are reflected in other institutions and changes in other institutions are reflected in the family

  * f. Family structure may make change difficult.

*39. The means used may make it difficult to achieve the stated ends or goals.

40. Social scientists set up classifications to suit their purposes; the use of different criteria result in different classifications.

SKILLS

The broad skill toward which teaching is ultimately directed is underlined. A specific aspect of a skill is in plain type.

1. Attacks problems in a rational manner.
   - *a. Sets up hypotheses.
   - *b. Deduces possible consequences from hypotheses (if-then statements) to guide collection of data.
2. Locates information.
   - a. Uses references to locate information about living authors.
3. Gathers information.
   - *a. Interprets graphs.
     - *1) Draws inferences from graphs.
     - *2) Looks for graphic devices which may be misleading.
   - b. Draws inferences from charts.
   - *c. Draws inferences from tab
   - d. Interprets cartoons.
4. Has a well-developed sense of

   Looks for relationships amon in one country and within a time framework.
5. Evaluates information.
   - a. Detects irrelevancies.
     - 1) Detects persuasion dev
   - *b. Checks on the accuracy of
     - *1) Checks facts against c of information.
     - *2) Checks on the bias and authors.
     - *3) Looks for points of ag disagreement among wit authors and other sou mation. Compares data
     - *4) Recognizes and examine to decide whether or cept them.
     - 5) Differentiates betwee ences and value judgme
     - *6) Recognizes difference of proving statements

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erences from charts.

*c. Draws inferences from tables.

d. Interprets cartoons.

4. Has a well-developed sense of time.

Looks for relationships among events within one country and within a world-wide time framework.

5. Evaluates information.

a. Detects irrelevancies.

1) Detects persuasion devices.

*b. Checks on the accuracy of information.

*1) Checks facts against own background of information.

*2) Checks on the bias and competency of authors.

*3) Looks for points of agreement and disagreement among witnesses and authors and other sources of information. Compares data.

*4) Recognizes and examines assumptions to decide whether or not he can accept them.

5) Differentiates between facts, inferences and value judgments.

*6) Recognizes differences in difficulty of proving statements.

7) Collects additional information when needed to check the facts.

*c. Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

1) Examines sample used to see if it is representative of the population for which generalizations are being made.

2) Identifies card-stacking.

*3) Rejects post hoc arguments; looks for other factors which may have caused the later event.

*d. Detects inconsistencies.

6. Analyzes and organizes information and draws conclusions.

*a. Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.

b. Uses statistical devices for analyzing data.

*c. Tests hypotheses against data.

d. Generalizes from data.

e. Relates ideas to ideas acquired from other sources of information, and organizes own structure for topic.

ATTITUDES

*1. Is curious about social data.

2. Values the scientific method and r
thought.

*3. Values objectivity and desires to
values from affecting his interpre
evidence.

*4. Respects evidence even when it con
prejudices and preconceptions.

5. Is sceptical of "conventional trut
demands that popular notions be ju
accordance with standards of empir
idation.

6. Evaluates information and sources
mation before accepting evidence a
alizations.

*7. Is committed to the free examinati
cial attitudes and data.

*8. Is sceptical of single-factor theo
causation in the social sciences a
equally sceptical of panaceas.

9. Feels a sense of responsibility fo
informed about current problems.

*10. Supports freedom of thought and ex

*11. Values procedural safeguards for t
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ATTITUDES

*1. Is curious about social data.

2. Values the scientific method and rational thought.

*3. Values objectivity and desires to keep his values from affecting his interpretation of evidence.

*4. Respects evidence even when it contradicts prejudices and preconceptions.

5. Is sceptical of "conventional truths" and demands that popular notions be judged in accordance with standards of empirical validation.

6. Evaluates information and sources of information before accepting evidence and generalizations.

*7. Is committed to the free examination of social attitudes and data.

*8. Is sceptical of single-factor theories of causation in the social sciences and is equally sceptical of panaceas.

9. Feels a sense of responsibility for keeping informed about current problems.

*10. Supports freedom of thought and expression.

*11. Values procedural safeguards for those accused of crimes.

12. Evaluates proposals, events, and programs on the basis of the effects upon individuals as human beings.

13. Has a reasoned loyalty to the U.S.

IV. The U.S.S.R. is a totalitarian s

A. The political system is an o controls all aspects of the s

A. FEELS A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR KEEPING INFORMED ABOUT CURRENT PROBLEMS.

S. Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.

A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.

IV. The U.S.S.R. is a totalitarian society.

   A. The political system is an oligarchy which controls all aspects of the society.

SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY
ING INFORMED ABOUT CUR-
BLEMS.

previously-learned concepts
eralizations to new data.

US ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.

1. Remind pupils that the Russian Civil War ended in 1920. Stalin had consolidated his power by 1929. Point out that they will now study the way in which the Soviet political system has operated under Stalin and others following his death. They will then examine the economic system and the social system as a whole before they turn to Soviet foreign relations. As they study life in the Soviet Union, they should look for ways in which the political, economic and social systems are related as well as for possible changes from one period to another.

2. Appoint committees to follow the newspapers and magazines for news items about Soviet life. One committee might focus upon political items, one on economic items, one on items related to the social system, and one on items related to foreign relations. These committees should make collections of notes and clippings for use at the appropriate time. They should also be prepared to tell the class more about what has happened.

3. Read aloud or have pupils read sections from the 1936 Soviet Constitution which deal with civil liberties. Ask: What is the purpose of our federal constitution? What would you expect the purpose of the Soviet constitution to be? Who decides in our country if the constitution has been violated? How can our constitution be amended?

   Read aloud a few brief quotations from people who claim that the U.S.S.R. constitutional guarantees have been violated repeatedly. Tell pupils that they are going to decide for themselves whether or not these critics are correct. They should decide whether or not they think the class is right about the purpose of the constitution in the Soviet Union. They should also try to find out who is the final interpreter of the Soviet Constitution and how it is amended.

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Readings on So
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Unit on U.S.S.

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For the constitutional clauses, see "Selected Readings on Soviet Society." For the quotations, see "Teacher's Supplement to Unit on U.S.S.R."

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S. Draws inferences from charts.

A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.

S. Looks for relationships among events within one country and within a world-wide time framework.

A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.

S. Checks on the bias and competency of authors.

S. Uses references to locate information about living authors.

A. EVALUATES INFORMATION AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION BEFORE ACCEPTING EVIDENCE AND GENERALIZATIONS.

1. In spite of constitutional guara
the U.S.S.R. lacks basic politic
religious liberties. The indivi
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UT SOCIAL DATA.

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RMATION AND SOURCES
BEFORE ACCEPTING
ENERALIZATIONS.

1. In spite of constitutional guarantees, the U.S.S.R. lacks basic political and religious liberties. The individual exists for the state rather than the state for the people.

4. Show pupils a chart of the (theoretical) structure of the Soviet system of government. Use arrows to show the way in which the system of elections is supposed to operate in choosing members of these different bodies. Also give pupils a brief description of how this system is supposed to work.

   Now read aloud brief quotations which claim that this structure does not give a correct picture of how the system operates and which claim that Soviet elections are a fraud. Tell pupils that they should try to decide for themselves as they read whether or not these critics are right.

For chart see C
Gov't. of the S
p. 38 or Carter
Major Foreign P
For quotations
Supplement to U

5. Have a pupil prepare a timeline of events in the U.S.S.R. from 1917 to the present. He should begin by placing on it the events up to Stalin's ouster of Trotsky. He should also add the dates for Stalin's death and for Khrushchev's dismissal. As pupils discuss other events during the course of this unit, he should add them to the timeline. Remind pupils to look at the timeline to see what periods they are studying about as they read books about Soviet life.

6. Display many books which deal with the Soviet political system and with the treatment of the individual under this system. Include accounts by refugees, by visitors during different periods, and by social scientists who have not visited the Soviet Union. Give pupils dittoed bibliographies with brief annotations of these books. Tell pupils a little more about some of the books in order to arouse their interest in them. Then give pupils a browsing period in which they can select a book which they wish to read.

See bibliograph

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For chart see Carter, *The Gov't. of the Sov. Union*, p. 38 or Carter and Herz, *Major Foreign Powers*, p. 256. For quotations see "Teacher's Supplement to Unit on U.S.S.R."

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See bibliography.

A. SUPPORTS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

A. VALUES PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS FOR THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIMES.

A. HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S.

G. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

G. Freedom's relationship to democracy is a close and obvious one; the organization of majorities, the competition in goals, and the ability to oppose which democracy presupposes all depend on a high degree of personal freedom.

S. Checks on the bias and competency of authors.

Tell students that they are to try to decide whether or not the civil liberty guarantees in the Constitution are carried out in practice and whether the government works as its formal structure indicates.

Point out that there are many different kinds of books here and some will differ. They should try to decide how much faith they can put in each book as a source of information. Ask pupils to list some of the questions which they should keep in mind as they examine the books for bias and competency.

Show pupils some of the reference works they can use to find out more about American authors, and discuss ways in which such knowledge might help them evaluate the books as sources of information. Tell pupils that they are to turn in a paper evaluating the book which they read.

Now give pupils time to begin reading these books in class. Give them three or four days to read, with time off for some of the activities below. (Some pupils will read more than one book -- see activity #7.) Each day during this reading period do one of the following.

a. Give pupils an exercise in which they are to place crosses before the two best sources of information on civil liberties in the Soviet Union and explain why they chose these and not others listed. Discuss the exercise in class.

See "Teacher'
to Unit on th

b. After pupils have read for a day, go over the questions they raised earlier on bias and competency and have them mention some of the indications they are finding in their books. This discussion should serve to help pupils evaluate their books more carefully. Be sure to ask pupils to note the period about which their book is written.

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S. Differentiates between facts, inferences, and value judgments.

S. Checks on the bias and competency of authors.

S. Recognizes differences in difficulty of proving statements.

6. Although culture is always changing, certain parts or elements may persist over long periods of time.

S. Checks on the bias and competency of authors.

c. Give pupils an exercise in which they are to mark a series of statements with an F if it is a fact, with an I if it is an inference, and with a V if it is a value judgment. Include statements taken from some of the books pupils are reading.

Remind pupils to be careful to differentiate between inferences and value judgments as they read, to note whether or not the facts support the inferences drawn, and to note whether the author is presenting facts which he himself observed or whether he is reporting facts observed by others.

Discuss: Is a primary source always better than a secondary account? Why or why not?

d. Give pupils an exercise on distinguishing the difficulty of proving statements. Include a series of statements from some of the books which they are reading. Perhaps include statements about the motives of members of the secret police and Stalin's motives, etc. Discuss the exercise in class and point up the need for identifying statements which would be difficult to prove.

7. Some pupils will read several books while others read only one. After giving pupils time in class to read for several days, have them complete the reading outside of class. Those who read rapidly might do one of the following as a special acitivty:

a. A pupil might compare two books by the same author about two different visits to the Soviet Union. He should write a report noting similarities and differences and any change in attitude on the part of the author.

See books by L.
Fischer and by Sa

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See books by L. or M.
Fischer and by Salisbury.

S. Checks on the bias and competency of authors.

G. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

A. VALUES PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS OF THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIMES.

A. EVALUATES PROGRAMS AND ACTIONS ON BASIS OF THEIR EFFECTS UPON INDIVIDUALS AS HUMAN BEINGS.

S. Checks on bias and competency of authors.

S. Looks for points of agreement and disagreement among witnesses and authors.

S. Classifies data.

S. Generalizes from data.

a. The reasons for arrests o
the legal codes both illu
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a. The reasons for arrests of people and the legal codes both illustrate the lack of civil liberties and the failure to enforce some of the constitutional guarantees.

b. A pupil might write a report comparing the literary treatment of life in a prison camp or attempts to get a confession with an account of the same kind of things by a refugee. Does the refugee account provide supporting evidence for the novel?

See bibliography

c. A pupil might prepare a paper comparing two or more eyewitness accounts during the same period of Soviet rule. He should select books which deal with the same things (e.g. two refugee accounts of life in prison camps and if possible the same prison camp or ones in the same region; or two accounts by visitors of what they saw of the court system and other aspects of political life; or a refugee account and a visitor's account of the same things; or a book by the Harvard Russian Study Center which was based on information from many refugees and an account by one refugee).

The paper should discuss points upon which the books agree, points of disagreement, and points which each makes which are not supported or contradicted by the other.

8. Have a class discussion on civil liberties in the Soviet Union. Begin by having those who have read refugee accounts or accounts by visitors give reasons why people in the books were arrested. They should cite the general period of these arrests as well as tell about them.

6. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

6. Freedom's relationship to democracy is a close and obvious one; the organization of majorities, the competition in goals, and the ability to oppose which democracy presupposes all depend on a high degree of personal freedom.

6. The community demands order and stability -- goals which may be incompatible with the demands of individuals.

6. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

6. Conflict serves to establish and maintain the identity and boundary lines of societies and groups. (In one-party countries it is necessary to identify the party with the country or invent an "enemy" to hold the party together.)

6. Groups engaged in continued struggle with the outside tend to be intolerant within. They are unlikely to tolerate more than limited departures from group unity.

5. Checks on the bias and competency of authors.

Have pupils classify these reasons under such topics as action, talk, suspicion, excuse rather than real motive. Have pupils compare these classifications with reasons for arrest in this country.

Discuss: Would it be easier to get someone arrested for these reasons in a country in which witnesses must testify and be cross-examined in court or in a country in which witnesses do not have to appear or even be named? Why?

Have pupils note the number of times which different reasons are given. Do they think the evidence is sufficient to conclude that people were arrested in these periods for such reasons or do they doubt the credibility of the accounts? (Discuss bias and accuracy of books and importance of similar reports by different witnesses.)

S. Looks for points of agreement and disagreement among witnesses and authors.

A. SUPPORTS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

A. VALUES PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS FOR THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIMES.

A. EVALUATES ACTS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR EFFECTS UPON INDIVIDUALS AS HUMAN BEINGS.

A. HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S.

S. Checks facts against own background of information.

S. Collects additional information when needed to check the facts.

S. Looks for points of agreement and disagreement among witnesses and authors and other sources of information.

G. Although culture is always changing, certain parts or elements may persist over long periods of time.

9. Read aloud a quotation from Stalin on the voluntary way in which collective farms were set up. Ask: On the basis of what you have read thus far, do you think that Stalin's statement was accurate?	"Selected Reading viet Society."
10. Give pupils excerpts from the Soviet civil codes during Stalin's rule. Do the codes indicate that people could be arrested for the reasons found in the books? Now give pupils excerpts from or summaries of some of the legal codes from the period after Stalin's death. Were all of the changes in the direction of greater leniency? (Include here just items on kinds of crime which can be punished and the extent of punishment.)	"Selected Reading viet Society."

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S. Generalizes from data.

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G. The community demands order and stability -- goals which may be incompatible with the demands of individuals.

A. SUPPORTS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

A. VALUES PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS FOR THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIMES.

A. EVALUATES ACTS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR EFFECTS UPON INDIVIDUALS AS HUMAN BEINGS.

A. HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S.

G. Compromise is easier where there is not an ideological perception of the issues; that is, where the issues are not moralized and not seen as related to other issues.

11. Have pupils use the reasons for arrest (found in books and criminal codes to discuss the following questions:

    a. Were any of the constitutional guarantees violated by these arrests and laws? If so, which ones?

    b. What do you think your life would be like if you could be arrested on suspicion? If you could be punished under the law of analogy which existed in Stalin's day?

    c. What effect did the heavy emphasis upon ideology have upon compromise between conflicting points of view in the Soviet Union?

a. Ideology represents a set of values in which there is belief and ego involvement and which are, therefore, difficult to surrender.

b. Individuals tend to [illegible] their ideologies [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] if [illegible]

(The [illegible] which [illegible] contrary to the [illegible] democracy [illegible] not tolerate the [illegible] institutions [illegible] [illegible] will [illegible]

12. Quote Ulam to the effect that in 1936-1938 "Party and security officials set themselves regular quotas of 'enemies of the people' and 'wreckers' they 'had' to discover and liquidate to gain the approval of their superiors." (See Beers and Ulam, ed., _Patterns of Government_, p. 670.) Be sure to define the term quota as used here. Discuss: What effect would such an informal quota system have upon civil liberties?

13. There will undoubtedly have been some mention during the previous discussion of arrests because of membership or participation in church activities or because of membership in certain nationality groups. Have a pupil report further on what has happened under Stalin and also since Stalin's death. His report should include a discussion both of the treatment of Jews and the treatment of those in the Orthodox Church. Then have a class discussion in which pupils compare religious freedom in the U.S.S.R. and in the U.S.

Fitzsimmons,
pp. 126-28,
Hendel, _Sov._
326-27;
Stavrianos,
History, pp.
Brumberg, _Ru_
shechev, pp.
Dallin, _Chan_
Soviet Russi
esp. p. 271)
Schwartz, _Man_
munism, pp.

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Fitzsimmons, et. al., U.S.S.R., pp. 126-28, 137-155;
Hendel, Sov. Crucible, pp. 326-27;
Stavrianos, Readings in World History, pp. 399-404;
Brumberg, Russia Under Khrushechev, pp. 322-40;
Dallin, Changing World of Soviet Russia, ch. 11 (see esp. p. 271);
Schwartz, Many Faces of Communism, pp. 151-152 and ch. 12;

Conquest, Russia
Khrushchev, pp.
Schwartz, Red Ph
50-51.

14. A pupil might write a series of imaginative letters from a Jew in Soviet Russia, comparing his treatment with that of his father or grandfather under the Tsars.

See historical
Conquest, Russia
shchev, pp. 65-
Schwartz, Many
munism, pp. 151-
Schwartz, Red P
50-51.

15. Have a pupil report on the treatment of nationalities within Soviet Russia. He should compare the treatment with (1) the treatment under the Tsars and (2) the ideals expressed in the Soviet constitution and by Soviet leaders. Discuss: Why do you think the Soviet government was so interested in developing written languages for and educating all minority groups?

Mandel, Russia
ch. 3;
Hendel, ed., So
pp. 341-356;
Inkeles and Bau
Citizen, ch. 15
Fitzsimmons, et
pp. 13-20;
Brumberg, ed.,
Khrushechev, pp

16. Hold a class discussion based on the reading pupils have done on the procedures followed in arrest, investigation of a case, role of lawyers, and court procedures. Again have pupils cite examples from their books and note the general period of facts they are presenting.

Discuss: Do the different accounts agree? Why do some authors report trials and some report that they were sentenced without a trial? Is there any difference from one period to another as well as for different kinds of crimes?

Conquest, Russia After Khrushchev, pp. 65-66; Schwartz, Red Phoenix, pp. 50-51.

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iet Russia, comparing his treatment with that
r or grandfather under the Tsars.

See historical material plus Conquest, Russia After Khrushchev , pp. 65-66; Schwartz, Many Faces of Communism, pp. 151-152, 234; Schwartz, Red Phoenix, pp. 50-51.

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Mandel, Russia Reexamined, ch. 3; Hendel, ed., Sov. Crucible, pp. 341-356; Inkeles and Bauer, Sov. Citizen, ch. 15; Fitzsimmons, et. al., U.S.S.R., pp. 13-20; Brumberg, ed., Russia After Khrushechev, pp. 300-321.

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G. Freedom's relationship to democracy is a close and obvious one; the organization of majorities, the competition in goals, and the ability to oppose which democracy presupposes, all depend on a high degree of personal freedom.

A. VALUES PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS OF THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIMES.

A. HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S.

A. EVALUATES ACTS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR EFFECTS UPON INDIVIDUALS AS HUMAN BEINGS.

S. Collects additional information when needed to check the facts.

S. Looks for points of agreement and disagreement among witnesses, authors and other sources of information.

G. Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for responses they suggest.

A. IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA.

When pupils raise questions about sources others have read, discuss the bias and competency of the authors.

17. Have pupils read dittoed excerpts from Soviet legal codes about the secret police courts and from Soviet leaders such as Vishinsky (former Chief Procurator) about the procedures used and the purposes of Soviet law.

Discuss: Does this evidence support or contradict what you have found in your books? How do the leaders justify the judicial and secret police procedures used? How do they justify the laws?

"Selected Read
viet Society,"

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s such as Vishinsky (former Chief Procurator)
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"Selected Readings on Soviet Society," #'s 3-4.

s: Does this evidence support or contradict what
ve found in your books? How do the leaders just-
e judicial and secret police procedures used? How
y justify the laws?

S. Relates ideas to ideas acquired from other sources of information, and organizes own structure for topic.

S. Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

A. VALUES PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS FOR THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIMES.

G. Since democracy is the chief political expectation of the times, oligarchies have had to accept the symbols and forms of democracy if not its substance.

A. VALUES PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS FOR THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIMES.

18. Perhaps have pupils read part of the transcript from the Moscow trials. Discuss: How did these trials compare with trials in this country? How did they compare with the trials which you read about in your books? How do you account for the differences in these trials and other Russian trials at the time? Why do you think these people confessed? Why do you think the government bothered with the trials when they could have used the secret police courts to issue a quick sentence with far less expense?

Excerpts may
Walsh, Readi
History, Vol
or in Mosse
in Review, p

19. Have a pupil report on how Westerners have checked on the evidence given in confessions at the Moscow trials. and on various interpretations of the purposes of the trials. Discuss: Do the findings support the guilt of these defendents?

McClosky an
Dict., pp.
484-486;
Leites and
of Liquidat

20. A pupil might draw a series of cartoons illustrating different viewpoints toward the confessions at the Moscow trials or toward the arrests during the purges.

21. Have pupils read Stalin's retroactive approval of the use of torture by the Secret police. Ask: How does Stalin justify the use of torture? Do you think his justification is based upon accurate inferences from facts?

"Selected
Soviet Soc

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Excerpts may be found in Walsh, Readings in Russian History, Vol. 3, pp. 763-772, or in Mosse et. al., Europe in Review, pp. 433-437.

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McClosky and Turner, Sov. Dict., pp. 142-154, 472-479, 484-486;
Leites and Bernaut, Ritual of Liquidation.

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"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

S. Distinguishes difficulty of proof.

G. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

G. The community demands order and stability -- goals which may be incompatible with the demands of individuals. In totalitarian countries, the individual's rights are sacrificed for the good of the state.

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G. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

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4. Millions of citizens have bee
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4. Millions of citizens have been sent to live under harsh conditions in labor camps for political crimes.

22. Several groups of pupils might role play some of the cases described by the former Russian lawyer Konstantinovsky.	Konstantinovsky, Sov In Action; or Berman, Focus, Ch
23. Read aloud an account of the extent of the purges under Stalin in terms of numbers and kinds of people purged. Cite the range in estimates for the numbers purged. Discuss: Why would it be difficult to know for sure just how many people were arrested and how many were killed? Tell pupils about ways in which western authorities have tried to arrive at their estimates.	Souvarine, Stalin, McClosky and Turner, Dict., pp. 134-39; Moore, Terror and Pr pp. 155-56; Hendel, ed., Sov. Cr pp. 378-380.
24. Have a pupil give a report on the history of the secret police, noting changes since Stalin's death. Discuss: Is a secret police incompatible with democracy? How did the existence of the secret police help the oligarchy maintain control?	Wolin, Sov. Secret chs. 1-7; McClosky and Turner Dict., pp. 457-65.

s of pupils might role play some of the ed by the former Russian lawyer Konstantin-	Konstantinovsky, Sov. Law In Action; or Berman, Focus, Ch. 10.
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G. The means may make it difficult to achieve the stated ends or goals.

G. Members of any group may join it for varying reasons, some of which have nothing to do with the goals of the organization.

S. Generalizes from data.

S. Checks on bias and competency of authors.

S. Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

S. Looks for points of agreement and disagreement among witnesses and authors.

A. EVALUATES ACTS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR EFFECTS UPON INDIVIDUALS AS HUMAN BEINGS.

A. IS SCEPTICAL OF THEORIES OF SINGLE CAUSATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

A. EVALUATES INFORMATION AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION BEFORE ACCEPTING EVIDENCE AND GENERALIZATIONS.

25. Use the suggested lesson based on Darkness at Noon in Mehlinger's bulletin on teaching about totalitarianism. The lesson focuses upon the question: Do the ends justify the means?	Mehlinger, The Totalitarianis 93.
26. A pupil might read and tell the class about the motivations of the imaginary secret police agent created by Bauer on the basis of his study of former police agents. He should also tell the class about how Bauer developed his fictionalized portrait.	Bauer, Nine So traits, pp. 14
27. Discuss: What does the evidence you have collected about the police and court procedures show about the constitutional guarantees of civil liberties? (Or have each pupil write his answer to this question.)	
28. Have pupils think back once more to the books which they have read. Hold a class discussion on the conditions under which people lived in prisons and labor camps. Do the accounts by different refugees support or contradict each other? Why were conditions so poor? How good are these books as sources of information? What other sources of information might we check before we accept the generalizations made by authors of these books? How did the reported conditions in the labor camps compare with the constitutional guarantees?	See also McCl Sov. Dict., p

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G. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

S. Collects additional information when needed to check the facts.

S. Looks for points of agreement and disagreement among witnesses and other sources of information.

S. Examines sample used to see if it is representative of the population for which generalizations are being made.

S. Checks on the bias and competency of sources of information.

G. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

2. The Soviet government has us
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2. The Soviet government has used terror and the secret police as a means of controlling citizens and maintaining its own power.

29. Have pupils read excerpts from Soviet documents and reports which have been used by western experts to study the labor camps. For example, have pupils read Yogada's report on the White Sea - Baltic Canal and the excerpt from the 1941 State Plan for the Development of the National Economy. Ask: What do these figures show about the numbers of inmates of the labor camps? Also ask: Do these sources support or contradict the reports in the books you have read?

Moore, Terror an
U.S.S.R., pp. 15
Inkeles and Baue
Society, 248-57;
"Selected Reading
Society."

30. Have a very good student report on the techniques used by the Harvard Russian Study Center to obtain data on Soviet Russia. He should explain the general procedures as well as the specific techniques for trying to assess and take account of bias among refugees. The student should also tell the class about the extent to which these refugees reported arrests and imprisonment in their families and the reasons they gave for these arrests. (If you have no student capable of handling this report, summarize the material for the class yourself. Or with the help of several other social studies teachers, role-play a discussion of the Harvard staff on how to obtain data and check on bias. Tape your discussion for use in class.)

Bauer, Inkeles, a
hohn, How The Sov
tem Works, chs.

31. Have a panel on "Terror as an Instrument of the Stalin Regime." The pupils should analyze the special techniques of the terror, possible reasons for the purges and terror, possible reasons for calling a halt to the purges,

McClosky and Turne
Dict., pp. 139-14
154, 446-448, 499-

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Moore, Terror and Progress, U.S.S.R., pp. 154-155; Inkeles and Bauer, Soviet Society, 248-57; "Selected Readings on Sov. Society."

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Bauer, Inkeles, and Kluckhohn, How The Soviet System Works, chs. 1, 7.

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McClosky and Turner, Sov. Dict., pp. 139-142, 152-154, 446-448, 499-500;

G. Freedom's relationship to democracy is a close and obvious one; the organizations of majorities, the competition in goals, and the ability to oppose which democracy presupposes, all depend on a high degree of personal freedom.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

G. The unity and homogeniety of life which totalitarianism demands is contrary to the pluralism of liberal democracy.

G. Changes in one aspect of a culture will have effects on other aspects; changes will ramify whether they are technological, in social organization, in ideology, or whatever else is a part of the cultural system.

G. There are strains between the political ideal of dictatorship and the organizational demands of modern industrial society.

G. Totalitarianism finds it impossible to coerce a large population constantly; instead, it coerces indirectly by controlling wills, fears, etc., through the use of symbols and mass media.

and the disadvantages of terror to the rulers.

Read aloud a quotation from Ulam to the effect that "the system often defeated itself. For an administrator endowed with the power to make a prompt decision in an economic or other matter would yet be so terrified of making a miscalculation ..., that he would refer the matter to his superior, he to his, etc...." (In Beer and Ulam, Patterns of Government, p. 672.) Discuss: Is Ulam justified in saying that the terror defeated itself for this reason?

Also discuss: Would terror be as useful an instrument for the rulers today as it was for Stalin? Why or why not? Let pupils discuss this question briefly. Postpone final analysis of it and of reasons for changes in the civil code and use of terror after they have looked at other aspects of the political system under Stalin.

Moore, Terror a
U.S.S.R., pp.
Wolin, Sov. Sec
pp. 180-238;
Hendel, ed., So
pp. 361-364, 37
380-383.

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Moore, Terror and Progress, U.S.S.R., pp. 156-178;
Wolin, Sov. Secret Police, pp. 180-238;
Hendel, ed., Sov. Crucible, pp. 361-364, 373-374, 376, 380-383.

A. VALUES PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS NEEDED FOR A FAIR TRIAL OF THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIMES.

G. Ideologies are important for the structure they give the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for responses they suggest.

G. Totalitarianism finds it impossible to coerce a large population constantly; instead it coerces indirectly by controlling wills, fears, etc. through the use of symbols and mass media.

G. Control of political communication is effective control of political behavior.

G. Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures created for them by communicators; they react to those images rather than to the real world and real people.

3. The Soviet government has c
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even science in its efforts
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In other words, the party u
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3. The Soviet government has controlled literary efforts, the writings and teachings of social scientists, the press and radio, and television, education, the arts and even science in its efforts to maintain the power of the oligarchy within the party. In other words, the party uses propaganda and education to help maintain control.

32. Have a pupil report on changes in the court system and Secret Police powers after Stalin's death. He should give pupils a dittoed copy of some of the changes. He should also report on Soviet Courts, including "Comrade's Courts" or assemblies, under Khrushchev.

    Discuss: Do all of these changes provide greater safeguards for the citizen? During this discussion, have pupils try to think of parallels to the new use of assemblies rather than courts to punish certain kinds of action. Discuss: What Marxian idea is related to this new development? (Remind pupils of Lenin's comments about how people would be kept in order after the withering away of the state.)

Christophe, ec
Comparative Pc
384-408;
Brumberg, ed.,
Khrushchev, pp
Feifer, Justic
especially chs

33. Have a pupil draw several cartoons showing different reactions to the new kinds of auxiliary police, assemblies for punishing loafers, and end to secret police courts.

34. Tell pupils that they can look at other sources to find out more about the freedom of speech and press and freedom of artists under Stalin since his time. Begin by having pupils read quotations about Stalin which give him god-like qualities. Then ask: How do these comments compare with those you read about Hitler when you studied Western Europe? How do they compare with comments made in this country about our President? What do you think they show about freedom of the press and speech in Russia under Stalin?

"Selected Rea
viet Society"
Mehlinger, Th
talitarianism

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Christophe, ed., Cases in Comparative Politics, pp. 384-408;
Brumberg, ed., Russia After Khrushchev, pp. 462-69;
Feifer, Justice in Moscow, especially chs. 4 and 9.

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"Selected Readings on Soviet Society"
Mehlinger, The Study of Totalitarianism, pp. 52-54.

G. Recent totalitarianisms have often been symbolized and epitomized by the political leader. Instead of demanding the full and total loyalty to the abstraction of the state, the totalitarian regime personalizes that loyalty in the leader.

G. Agencies of political socialization include those within the political system as well as those without (such as mass media, social groups, etc.); in fact, totalitarian political systems are marked by governmental dominance of this process.

G. Oligarchies maintain themselves within the forms of democracy by control of resources, information, attention, and expertise.

G. Freedom's relationship to democracy is a close and obvious one; the organization of majorities, the competition in goals, and the ability to oppose which democracy presupposes all depend on a high degree of personal freedom.

A. SUPPORTS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

A. HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S.

G. Totalitarianisms may seek to alter the content of the arts to use them for the propagandistic and symbolic

35. Have pupils read the statement of the Central Committee on magazines and then Zhdanov's speech to the Congress of Soviet Writers. Ask: Suppose you had been a Soviet

"Selected Readi viet Society."

ls read the statement of the Central Committee
nes and then Zhdanov's speech to the Congress of
iters. Ask: Suppose you had been a Soviet

"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

purposes of the totalitarian political system.

A. VALUES PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS FOR THOSE ACCUSED OF CRIMES.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

writer in this period. What effect do you think this resolution and speech would have had upon you? Why?

Have pupils read Yevtushenko's comments about novels of the Stalin period. Ask: Why would authors write such novels even when they might have preferred to write about other topics?

36. Now have a pupil tell the class more about what happened to writers during the Stalin period, about the thaw which followed his death, and about the tightening up of controls once more. Perhaps have several pupils who are interested in literature read some of the poetry or novels produced during the thaw period and join the first student in a symposium on literature in the Soviet Union. They should tell the class about the ideas expressed by the authors during the thaw and about what finally happened to the authors.

Mandell, Russ
ch. 12;
Dallin and We
Politics in t
ch. 5;
Brumberg, Rus
shchev, pp.
some of thaw
Conquest, Rus
shchev, pp.
Counts and Lo
of the Blind
Schwartz, Re
85-88. Also
on novels in

37. Another pupil might tell the class about the fictionalized account of a young author in the book by Bauer. How did he try finally to get around party restrictions?

Bauer, Nine
pp. 91-106.

38. Have pupils read excerpts from the transcript of a trial of a Soviet author after the Thaw period. Discuss: What role did the defense lawyer play in this trial? Did he play the same kind of role that a defense lawyer plays in the U.S.? How does the kind of evidence admitted compare with the kind which can be admitted in a U.S. court? How does the role of the judge compare with the role of

Mehlinger, T
Totalitarian
78.

r in this period. What effect do you think this
ution and speech would have had upon you? Why?

pupils read Yevtushenko's comments about novels of
talin period. Ask: Why would authors write such
s even when they might have preferred to write
other topics?

ave a pupil tell the class more about what happened
iters during the Stalin period, about the thaw
followed his death, and about the tightening up of
ols once more. Perhaps have several pupils who are
ested in literature read some of the poetry or nov-
roduced during the thaw period and join the first
t in a symposium on literature in the Soviet Union.
should tell the class about the ideas expressed by
uthors during the thaw and about what finally hap-
to the authors.

Mandell, *Russia Re-Examined*, ch. 12;
Dallin and Westin, eds., *Politics in the Soviet Union*, ch. 5;
Brumberg, *Russia After Khrushchev*, pp. 3-3-440 (includes some of thaw poetry);
Conquest, *Russia After Khrushchev*, pp. 99-102;
Counts and Lodge, *Country of the Blind*, chs. 3-4;
Schwartz, *Red Phoenix*, pp. 85-88. Also see section on novels in bibliography.

er pupil might tell the class about the fictiona -
ccount of a young author in the book by Bauer. How
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Bauer, *Nine Soviet Portraits*, pp. 91-106.

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es the role of the judge compare with the role of

Mehlinger, *The Study of Totalitarianism*, pp. 68-78.

G. The unity and homogenity of life which totalitarianism demands is contrary to the pluralism of liberal democracy.

A. VALUES FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

A. VALUES FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

G. Effective political communication depends both on technological skills and on the skills of the population.

G. Totalitarianism finds it impossible to coerce a large population constantly; instead, it coerces indirectly by controlling wills, fears, etc. through the use of symbols and mass media and education.

G. Agencies of political socialization include those within the political system as well as those without; in fact, totalitarian political systems are marked by governmental dominance of this process the judge in a U.S. court? What does this trial show about the freedom of the press in 1964? (Also discuss the other questions suggested by Mehlinger in his booklet.)

39. Have pupils read quotations which illustrate changes forced upon historians, economists, and other social scientists such as psychologists. Discuss: Why do you think the Soviet leaders insisted upon these changes?

"Selected Read
viet Society."

40. Have a pupil report on the way in which schools are used as a means of maintaining control over the people. He should give examples of the kinds of propaganda presented in the schools. Perhaps he might ditto up excerpts from some of the textbooks for pupils to read.

Discuss: Are the schools ever used in this country to indoctrinate pupils? How does the government's use of schools compare in the two countries?

Schlesinger an
Communism, pp.
148-149;
Stavrianos, Re
World History,
Counts and Lod
of the Blind,
Goodfriend, If
Born in Russia
60-63, 148-149
Bereday and Pe
itics of Sovie
chs. 3, 5;
Schwartz, Many
munism, pp. 99
146-149, 152-1

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A. VALUES FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

A. HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S.

G. Freedom's relationship to democracy is a close and obvious one; the organization of majorities, the competition in goals, and the ability to oppose which democracy presupposes all depend on a high degree of personal freedom.

G. Control of political communication is effective control of political behavior.

G. Totalitarianism finds it impossible to coerce a large population constantly; instead, it coerces indirect-

41. Have pupils read the selection from Ilin's New Russia's Primer. Ask: How did the author make use of economic depressions in the U.S.? How did he misinterpret some of the facts coming from the U.S.? Perhaps have a pupil check on Chase's book to see how accurately it was quoted. Also discuss: What other devices did the author use to persuade Soviet school children of the wisdom of economic planning? How does this excerpt illustrate Marxian ideology?	"Selected Reading viet Society."
42. Perhaps show the section on Soviet schools in the filmstrip: Schools and Pioneer Activities in the Soviet Union. Have pupils analyze the material in terms of what they have already learned about schools. They should also compare what they see with what goes on in American schools.	Filmstrip: School Pioneer Activitie Soviet Union, S.V sold by Rand McNa
43. Discuss: What is the role of the press (newspaper, magazine, etc.) in our country? How important do you think such freedom of the press is to maintaining democracy and rights of the people? Now have a pupil report on the use of the press by the government to maintain control in the Soviet Union.	Mandel, Russia Re pp. 169-171; Goodfriend, If You in Russia, pp. 92 Inkeles, Public O Soviet Russia, ch Schwartz, Many Fa munism, pp. 110-

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"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

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ools.

Filmstrip: Schools and Pioneer Activities in the Soviet Union, S.V.E. (Also sold by Rand McNally.)

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in our country? How important do you think
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aintain control in the Soviet Union.

Mandel, Russia Re-examined, pp. 169-171;
Goodfriend, If You Were Born in Russia, pp. 92-97, 137-141;
Inkeles, Public Opinion in Soviet Russia, chs. 9-14;
Schwartz, Many Faces of Communism, pp. 110-117.

ly by controlling wills, fears, etc. through the use of symbols and mass media and education.

G. Control of political communication is effective control of political behavior.

G. Control of political communication is effective control of political behavior.

G. Since democracy is the chief political expectation of the times, oligarchy has had to accept the symbols and forms of democracy if not its substance.

S. Interprets cartoons.

44. Have another pupil report on the role of broadcasting in the Soviet Union.	Schwartz, *Many* *munism*, pp. 167 Inkeles, *Public* chs. 15-18; Holt and Turner Ch. 8.
45. Point out that pupils have mentioned some criticisms in the press. Have pupils read examples of such criticisms. Discuss: Does this mean that people really have freedom of speech in the Soviet Union? Why do you think the government rulers permit such criticism? Now have a pupil report on the use of self-criticism and the way in which it operates in the Soviet Union.	"Selected Readi viet Society." Inkeles and Ge *Society*, pp. 16 Mehnert, ch. 1
46. If a student can read Russian, he might go to the public library to read a recent Russian newspaper to see if he can find any examples of self-criticism. He should report to the class on the kinds he finds, if any.	
47. Have a pupil give an illustrated talk on Soviet cartoons as a means of criticism. He should project different types of cartoons and tell the class about the limitations. (e.g. no cartoons making fun of top leaders.) Discuss: How does the U.S. cartoonist differ from the Soviet cartoonist in the amount of freedom he has? (As the pupil gives the report, he should point out the use of symbols.)	Swearingen, *Wha* *Comrade?* Dallin and Wes *Politics in the* pp. 73, 158-15

r pupil report on the role of broadcasting in
Jnion.

Schwartz, Many Faces of Communism, pp. 167-175;
Inkeles, Public Opinion, chs. 15-18;
Holt and Turner, Sov. Union, Ch. 8.

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n the Soviet Union? Why do you think the gov-
ers permit such criticism? Now have a pupil
he use of self-criticism and the way in which
in the Soviet Union.

"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."
Inkeles and Geiger, Sov. Society, pp. 164-166;
Mehnert, ch. 19.

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Swearingen, What's So Funny Comrade?
Dallin and Westin, eds., Politics in the Sov. Union, pp. 73, 158-159, 197, 235.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

A. SUPPORTS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

A. HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S.

G. Totalitarianisms may seek to alter the contents of the arts to use them for the propagandistic and symbolic purposes of the totalitarian political system.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

G. The unity and homogeniety of life which totalitarianism demands is contrary to the pluralism of liberal democracy.

A. SUPPORTS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

A. HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S.

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48. Have a pupil who is interested in music tell the class something about some of the famous Russian composers who came under criticism. He might perhaps play snatches of some of their more famous recordings. Then have the class read the Central Committee's resolution attacking these composers and their self-criticisms.

"Selected Readin
viet Society."

Also have pupils read the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on the opera by Muradeli and then read Muradeil's self-confession of error.

Ask: Would you expect a famous composer in this country to accept such criticism in this way? Why or why not? How easy would it be for a composer to follow a party line on music? Why?

Have pupils read Khrushchev's statements on the arts. How do they compare with some of those made by Soviet leaders under Stalin? Have them also read the Pravda statement which appeared in 1962. What criticisms were being levied against artists? What did the leaders consider the purpose of the arts in Soviet life?

49. Tell the class briefly about Eisenstein, the movie producer. Then have them read his statement on "My Worthless and Vicious Film." Discuss: How likely would an American film producer be to make such a statement if the President or some other government leader criticized his interpretation of a past episode in American History?

"Selected Readin
viet Society."

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"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

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"Selected Readings in Soviet Society."

A. VALUES THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD AND RATIONAL THOUGHT.

A. SUPPORTS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

G. Recent totalitarianisms have often been symbolized and epitomized by the political leader.

S. Generalizes from data.

50. A pupil interested in science might tell the class about the changes in party line related to inheritance and biology.

Schwartz, Man
munism, pp. 2
Counts, Count
Blind, ch. 6;
Riha, ed., Re
sian Hist., v
720;
Schwartz, Red
200-203.

Have pupils read the Presidium's order on Michurin Biology, the excerpt from Lysenko's speech in praise of Stalin and the excerpts from other letters to Stalin by members of the Academy of Science and University professors. Ask: Would you expect American scientists to make such statements to our President? Why or why not? What do these statements indicate about civil liberties in the Soviet Union during the period in which they were made?

"Selected Rea
viet Society.

Tell the class that some Americans during this period predicted that Soviet scientists would not accomplish much because of their lack of freedom. Remind pupils of some of the achievements since that time. Ask: Why do you think these scientists were able to make such progress? Now quote several authors on the "relative" amount of freedom of scientists in many fields, particularly in those at all related to military force. Ask: Why do you think these men were granted more freedom than those in biology?

Schwartz, Red
Mandel, Russi
ch. 11;
Swearer and L
Communism, pp
Schwartz, Man
munism, ch. 1

51. Discuss: In the light of what you have studied, what would you say was the status of civil liberties in the U.S.S.R. under Stalin? Today?

interested in science might tell the class about ges in party line related to inheritance and bi-	Schwartz, *Many Faces of Communism*, pp. 202-206; Counts, *Country of the Blind*, ch. 6; Riha, ed., *Readings in Russian Hist.*, vol. 3, pp. 709-720; Schwartz, *Red Phoenix*, pp. 200-203.
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In the light of what you have studied, what say was the status of civil liberties in the under Stalin? Today?	

G. Since democracy is the chief political expectation of the times, oligarchy has had to accept the symbols and forms of democracy, if not its substance.

G. Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for responses they suggest.

G. People with different ideologies may perceive the same scene and their ideologies will give it sharply different meaning and significance -- maybe even different perception of the facts.

G. Most political communication depends on the use of symbols, negative and positive stereotypes, and other communication shortcuts; effective communication depends on the effective manipulation of those symbolic tools.

4. The government of th
operate as described.

a. The U.S.S.R. is s
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Party and by just

ıce democracy is the chief polit-
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the use of symbols, negative and
itive stereotypes, and other com-
ication shortcuts; effective com-
ication depends on the effective
ipulation of those symbolic tools.

4. The government of the U.S.S.R. does not operate as described in the constitution.

   a. The U.S.S.R. is supposedly governed through a system of soviets but is actually controlled by the Communist Party and by just a small handful of

52. A group of students might prepare a series of bulletin board displays on the Status of Civil Liberties in the U.S.S.R. One might focus upon speech and press, another on rights of those accused, etc.

53. Have pupils read Stalin's comments about the 1936 constitution. Discuss: Do you agree with his statements about the constitution? What Marxian arguments is he using? How is he using symbols and stereotypes to persuade?

"Selected Re
viet Societ

54. Once more show the class the chart showing the supposed structure of the Soviet government. Ask: Have you found anything in your books which throws any light upon how this government system works? Does this chart present a realistic picture?

See activit

up of students might prepare a series of bulletin displays on the Status of Civil Liberties in the .R. One might focus upon speech and press, another ghts of those accused, etc.

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"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

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See activity #4.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

S. Generalizes from data.

G. Since democracy is the chief political expectation of the times, oligarchy has had to accept the symbols and forms of democracy, if not its substance.

G. The relationship between freedom and democracy is a close and obvious one.

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position party is permi

b. Elections do not provid
from among opposing can
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men at the top of the party. No opposition party is permitted.

b. Elections do not provide free choices from among opposing candidates with different points of view.

Pupils should be able to raise a number of points about the chart at this time. Do the following activities to clarify the governmental system.

55. Project charts and tables which show the way in which many party leaders also hold positions in the government structure. Discuss: What hypotheses might you set up about the role of the communist party in the government?	McClosky and T Dict., pp. 215 Carter, Gov't. Union, p. 64.
56. Have pupils read the translation of a Soviet document on voting on the Soviet budget in the All-Union Congress. Discuss: Would you expect to find such unanimity in voting on a budget in our Congress? Why or why not? What do you think these voting results show about the power of the All-Union Congress in the Soviet government? Tell the class that they will study more about who actually makes policy and the factors affecting decision-making after they have examined elections and the Communist Party.	Walsh, Reading Hist., vol. 3,
57. Have pupils read brief accounts of elections in the Soviet Union. Pupils should choose one of the references in terms of its reading difficulty.	Carter, Gov't. Union, pp. 59- Schlesinger an Communism, pp. Petrovich, Sov 63-64; Jacob, Masks o pp. 117-120; McClosky and T Dict., pp. 324- Inkeles and Ge Soviet Society

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McClosky and Turner, Sov. Dict., pp. 215-217;
Carter, Gov't. of the Soviet Union, p. 64.

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Walsh, Readings in Russian Hist., vol. 3, p. 791.

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Carter, Gov't. of the Sov. Union, pp. 59-60;
Schlesinger and Blustain, Communism, pp. 120-121;
Petrovich, Sov. Union, pp. 63-64;
Jacob, Masks of Communism, pp. 117-120;
McClosky and Turner, Sov. Dict., pp. 324-332;
Inkeles and Geiger, eds., Soviet Society, pp. 184-185;

G. Political activity, by which the individual seeks his goals and interests through the political system, takes any number of forms, depending on the nature of the system, and varies greatly in incidence.

G. People with different ideologies may perceive the same scene and their ideologies will give it sharply different meaning and significance -- maybe even different perception of the facts.

G. Most political communication depends on the use of symbols, negative and positive stereotypes, and other communication shortcuts; effective communication depends on the effective manipulation of those symbolic tools.

Discuss: How do Soviet elections compare with those in the U.S.? If you were a Soviet citizen, would you go into the booth to vote? Why or why not? Would you be likely to cross off the name of the candidate? Why or why not? Why do you think the Soviet government bothers with holding elections since they are fairly expensive? What does this kind of election system mean about who controls the government?

Mandell, Russia
pp. 149-51;
Swearer and Lor
Contemporary Co
83-86;
Mehlinger, ed.,
in Theory and E
pp. 79-81;
Stavrianos, ed.
World Hist. pp
Hendel, ed., So
pp. 323-325;
Carter and Her
eign Powers, pp
Braham, ed., So
and Gov't., pp

58. Have all pupils read Khrushchev's comments on elections, bourgeois democracy and one-party systems. Have pupils analyze his comments in terms of Marxian doctrines and use of symbols and stereotypes to persuade.

"Selected Read
viet Society."

Discuss: Does Khrushchev agree with or deny the information you have read in these American accounts of elections? Do you agree with Khrushchev's agruments? Why or why not?

Read aloud the quotation about Sasha the eleven-year-old Soviet child who talked with the Azraels, an American couple. When he was told that during election campaigns Americans wear pins for their favorite candidates, he replied: "I see. It's true, your elections aren't free. You can't keep your choice a secret." (Quoted in Schwartz, Many Faces of Communism, p. 101.) Discuss: How has the attempt of the Soviet government to indoctrinate children affected this child's perceptions?

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J.S.? If you were a Soviet citizen, would you go
the booth to vote? Why or why not? Would you be
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Mandell, Russia Re-examined, pp. 149-51;
Swearer and Longaker, eds., Contemporary Communism, pp. 83-86;
Mehlinger, ed., Communism in Theory and Practice, pp. 79-81;
Stavrianos, ed., Readings in World Hist. pp. 359-360;
Hendel, ed., Sov. Crucible, pp. 323-325;
Carter and Herz, Major Foreign Powers, pp. 277-278;
Braham, ed., Sov. Politics and Gov't., pp. 408-416.

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"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

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cted this child's perceptions?

G. Since democracy is the chief political expectation of the times, oligarchy has had to accept the symbols and forms of democracy, if not its substance.

G. The political importance of the judiciary depends largely on whether or not it has responsibility for declaring acts of the other two branches unconstitutional.

S. Detects inconsistencies.

S. Draws inferences from charts.

S. Checks facts against his own background of information.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

c. The government is fede
but is actually domina
central government.

4. The Communist Party is cor
men at the top of the part
party members for a numbe

a. The party recruits the
cal and economic elite

b. The party interprets ar
ficial ideology.

democracy is the chief polit-
xpectation of the times, oli-
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y depends largely on whether
it has responsibility for de-
g acts of the other two branches
titutional.

s inconsistencies.

inferences from charts.

facts against his own back-
of information.

hypotheses.

c. The government is federal in theory, but is actually dominated by the central government.

4. The Communist Party is controlled by the men at the top of the party; they use the party members for a number of purposes:

a. The party recruits the Soviet political and economic elite and trains them.

b. The party interprets and guards the official ideology.

59. Have several pupils work as a committee to compare the 1936 constitution with the constitution as amended in 1962. They should tell the class about changes which were made and how they were made. Discuss: What does the method of change show about the kind of governmental system in the Soviet Union? Do the revisions change the fundamental character of the political system in the U.S.S.R.? Why do the Soviet leaders bother with a constitution when they can change it at will? How does this system of changing and interpreting the constitution affect the power of the Judiciary?	1936 constitu and Kozera, M the Study of tem, pp. 242 Constitution 1962 in Carte the Sov. Unio or in Braham, Politics and A
60. Have a pupil report to the class on the following topic: Does the U.S.S.R. really have a federal system of government?	Hendel, Sov. 321-22; Beer and Ulam, terns of Gov't
61. Give pupils a quotation from the 1961 Communist Party Program as it deals with national sovereignty. Have pupils analyze the statement for consistency and in terms of Marxian principles.	"Selected Read viet Society."
62. Show pupils a chart illustrating the supposed structure of the communist party in the U.S.S.R. Discuss: From what you have read so far, how well do you think this chart shows clearly how the power is distributed in the Party?	Carter, Gov't. Union, p. 51 o and Herz, Majo ers, p. 269 or eds., Patterns p. 724.
63. Have a group of students put on the script of a meeting of the executive committee of a local communist party group in the U.S.S.R. Then follow the suggested procedure in the booklet by Mehlinger on having pupils suggest characteristics of the party which are shown by this script.	Mehlinger, The Totalitarianis 49.

al pupils work as a committee to compare the itution with the constitution as amended in y should tell the class about changes which and how they were made. Discuss: What does of change show about the kind of governmen- in the Soviet Union? Do the revisions change ental character of the political system in the Why do the Soviet leaders bother with a con- when they can change it at will? How does of changing and interpreting the constitu- the power of the Judiciary?	1936 constitution in Meisel and Kozera, Materials for the Study of the Soviet System, pp. 242 ff; Constitution as amended in 1962 in Carter, Gov't. of the Sov. Union, pp. 133-147 or in Braham, ed., Sov. Politics and Gov't, appendix A
l report to the class on the following topic: S.S.R. really have a federal system of gov-	Hendel, Sov. Crucible, pp. 321-22; Beer and Ulam, eds., Patterns of Gov't., pp. 660-667.
a quotation from the 1961 Communist Party it deals with national sovereignty. Have pu- e the statement for consistency and in terms principles.	"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."
a chart illustrating the supposed structure unist party in the U.S.S.R. Discuss: From ve read so far, how well do you think this clearly how the power is distributed in the	Carter, Gov't. of the Sov. Union, p. 51 or Carter and Herz, Major Foreign Powers, p. 269 or Beer and Ulam, eds., Patterns of Government p. 724.
o of students put on the script of a meeting of ve committee of a local communist party group S.R. Then follow the suggested procedure in by Mehlinger on having pupils suggest charac- f the party which are shown by this script.	Mehlinger, The Study of Totalitarianism, pp. 37-49.

c. The party coordinates all
nomic, social, and politi
tions of the society in o
the goals of the dictator

d. The party carries out the
the leaders.

e. The party serves as a lin
tators and the masses; it
mass demonstrations, stag
and many propaganda campa
party leaders informed ab
reactions to different po

S. Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.

G. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population.

G. Ideology is associated with those people in the political system with the greatest political awareness, involvement, and information.

G. One-party systems tend to develop a competitiveness within the dominant party, but this factional competiveness lacks the stability and predictability of inter-party competition.

G. The relative centralization or decentralization of power within political parties is related to the centralization or decentralization of authority within the political system as a whole.

c. The party coordinates all of the economic, social, and political institutions of the society in order to achieve the goals of the dictatorship.

d. The party carries out the decisions of the leaders.

e. The party serves as a link between dictators and the masses; it engineers mass demonstrations, staged elections, and many propaganda campaigns and keeps party leaders informed about public reactions to different policies.

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ion of power within political
is related to the centraliza-
decentralization of authority
he political system as a whole.

Make sure that pupils recognize that these ideas are only hypotheses, to be tested at greater length by checking them against other sources of information.

Have each pupil read one of the brief accounts of the communist party structure and functions.

Discuss: How does membership in the party compare with the way people become members in the U.S.? On the basis of your reading, how does control over party affairs compare with control over party affairs in this country?

Schlesinger and
Communism, pp. 1
Petrovich, Sov.
pp. 55-60;
Jacobs, Masks of
pp. 120-126;
Salisbury, Sov.
pp. 22-23;
Schwartz, Red Ph
pp. 45-48.

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Schlesinger and Blustain, Communism, pp. 115-130;
Petrovich, Sov. Union, pp. 55-60;
Jacobs, Masks of Communism, pp. 120-126;
Salisbury, Sov. Union, pp. 22-23;
Schwartz, Red Phoenix, pp. 45-48.

G. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population.

G. Ideology is associated with those people in the political system with the greatest political awareness, involvement, and information.

G. One-party systems tend to develop a competiveness within the dominant party, but this factional competiveness lacks the stability and predictability of inter-party competition.

G. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion.

G. It is unlikely that one could find many genuine autocracies (rule by one) in complex modern governments; they are very likely really oligarchies. The scope of government and the variety of its clienteles demand a variety of skills that one man does not possess.

G. Every decision-maker is dependent on advice, knowledge, information, and political intelligence; as a result, those advisors who can provide him with them have an important base for exerting power and influence on the official.

G. In contemporary oligarchies, the political party becomes the instrument by which the few govern in the name of the many.

65. Have a group of students present a panel discussion on "The Communist Party in the U.S.S.R.: Internal Control and Functions." The pupils should prepare a chart to illustrate the lines of control within the party. They should also analyze some of the problems of maintaining high morale among party members.

Discuss: Is the U.S.S.R. an autocracy or an oligarchy? Why? Why is the problem of morale so important?

McClosky and
Dictatorship,
Inkeles and G
Society, pp.
Mandel, *Russ*,
ch. 9 and pp.
Beer and Ulam
terns of Gov'
744.

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unist Party in the U.S.S.R.: Internal Control
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Is the U.S.S.R. an autocracy or an oligarchy?
s the problem of morale so important?

McClosky and Turner, Sov. Dictatorship, ch. 8; Inkeles and Geiger, Sov. Society, pp. 126-137; Mandel, Russ. Re-examined, ch. 9 and pp. 139-148; Beer and Ulam, eds., Patterns of Gov't., pp. 697-744.

G. Members of any group may join it for varying reasons some of which have nothing to do with the goals of the organization.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

G. In comtemporary oligarchies, the political party becomes the instrument by which the few govern in the name of the many

S. Draws inferences from tables.

G. The requirements for leadership change; as an organization or government develops, the need for leaders with administrative skills tends to replace the need for charismatic leaders.

66. Have a pupil prepare a bulletin board display on "The Functions of the Communist Party in Russia."

67. A pupil might read and report on the Bauer fictionalized account of the local party secretary and his fears. Discuss in terms of control and functions.

Bauer, Nine Sovie
pp. 60-75.

68. Project a table showing changes in the number of factory directors who were communist party members in Russia. Discuss: What does this chart show you about the role of the party in economic affairs? About membership as a means of access to good industrial jobs?

Inkeles and Geige
Society, p. 128.

Now have a pupil report on how different authors have analyzed the importance of Communist party membership for advancement in the U.S.S.R.

McClosky and Turn
Dict., p. 266;
Inkeles and Bauer
Citizen, p. 326;
Frankel, "The 8,7
Elite of Russia,"
Times Magazine, M
pp. 9, 48, 49.

69. A pupil might prepare a bulletin board on the topic: Soviet Government: Myths and Reality. He should include a chart showing how the party actually controls the government.

For example of ch
Editors of Schola
Services, Sov. Unic

70. Have pupils analyze changes in membership in the party by age, social origin and occupation, national origin, educational level, and sex. Show pupils tables presenting this data and give them exercises on reading the tables.

McClosky and Turn
Dict., (age , p 26
origins and occup
251; educational
261-62; women de
p. 256);

l prepare a bulletin board display on "The of the Communist Party in Russia."	
ght read and report on the Bauer fictionalized the local party secretary and his fears. Dis- rms of control and functions.	Bauer, Nine Soviet Portraits, pp. 60-75.
table showing changes in the number of factors who were communist party members in Rus- ss: What does this chart show you about the party in economic affairs? About member- means of access to good industrial jobs?	Inkeles and Geiger, Sov. Society, p. 128.
pupil report on how different authors have he importance of Communist party membership ement in the U.S.S.R.	McClosky and Turner, Sov. Dict., p. 266; Inkeles and Bauer, Sov. Citizen, p. 326; Frankel, "The 8,708,000 Elite of Russia," New York Times Magazine, May 29, 1960, pp. 9, 48, 49.
ght prepare a bulletin board on the topic: ernment: Myths and Reality. He should in- art showing how the party actually controls ment.	For example of chart see Editors of Scholastic Book Services, Sov. Union, p. 73.
s analyze changes in membership in the party cial origin and occupation, national origin, l level, and sex. Show pupils tables present- ata and give them exercises on reading the	McClosky and Turner, Sov. Dict., (age , p 260; social origins and occup. p. 249-251; educational level, pp. 261-62; women delegates, p. 256);

G. Any decision is, in part, a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G. The agencies of political socialization include those within the political system as well as those without; in fact, totalitarian political systems are marked by governmental dominance of the process.

G. Members of any group may join it for varying reasons, some of which have nothing to do with the goals of the organization.

Discuss: What changes do you note in party membership? What implications do you think these changes might have for the party and for Soviet government? Do you think these tables bear out the contention that women are treated equally with men in the Soviet Union? Do you think that this data helps prove the contention that the party is the party representing the proletariat? What light do they throw on the treatment of minority nationalities in the U.S.S.R.?

Brzezinski
Political P
U.S.S.R., p
origin), p.
See also In
Sov. Societ
137-147.

71. Have a group of pupils prepare and show the class a dittoed sheet outlining briefly the social origins, educational level, and training of Soviet leaders such as Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Kosygin. Discuss: What changes do you see in the kind of leader who comes to the top of the party? How might these changes be explained? What effect might the background of the present leaders have upon Soviet policy? Upon their political behavior in general? Quote Brzezinski and Huntington on the effects of social origin on political style.

Obtain data
and from th
In Brzezins
Political P
U.S.S.R., p
pp. 139-14

72. Have a pupil give an illustrated oral report on the Konsomol and the Young Pioneers. He should show the way in which the party leaders use these groups as a means of control.

Inkeles an
Soviet Soc
Schwartz,
munism, pp
Also see F
and Pionee
the Soviet
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What changes do you note in party membership? lications do you think these changes might have party and for Soviet government? Do you think bles bear out the contention that women are equally with men in the Soviet Union? Do you at this data helps prove the contention that y is the party representing the proletariat? ht do they throw on the treatment of minority ities in the U.S.S.R.?	Brzezinski and Huntington, Political Power: U.S.A./U.S.S.R., p. 132 (national origin), p. 169 (education). See also Inkeles and Geiger, Sov. Society, pp. 127, 128, 137-147.
roup of pupils prepare and show the class a dit- et outlining briefly the social origins, educa- evel, and training of Soviet leaders such as rotsky, Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Kosy- scuss: What changes do you see in the kind of ho comes to the top of the party? How might anges be explained? What effect might the back- f the present leaders have upon Soviet policy? ir political behavior in general? Quote Brze- nd Huntington on the effects of social origin ical style.	Obtain data from biographies and from the following tables in Brzezinski and Huntington, Political Power: U.S.A./U.S.S.R., p. 161 (table), pp. 139-140 (quotation).
pupil give an illustrated oral report on the and the Young Pioneers. He should show the way the party leaders use these groups as a means rol.	Inkeles and Geiger, eds., Soviet Society, pp. 147-164. Schwartz, Many Faces of Communism, pp. 147-150. Also see Filmstrip: Schools and Pioneer Activities in the Soviet Union, S.V.E. (Also sold by Rand McNally.)

G. Totalitarianisms find it impossible to coerce a large population constantly; instead, it coerces indirectly by controlling the wills, fears, etc. through the use of symbols and mass media, etc.

G. Oligarchies have had persistent trouble in solving the problem of succession, especially where it has abandoned the succession by birth.

G. Changes in one aspect of a culture will have effects on other aspects; changes will ramify whether they are technological, in social organization, in ideology, or whatever else is a part of the cultural system.

S. Looks for points of agreement and disagreement among witnesses, authors, and other sources of information.

S. Detects persuasion devices.

S. Detects inconsistencies.

S. Looks for points of agreement and disagreement among witnesses, authors, and other sources of information.

6. The Soviet Union has had
in solving the problem of
garchies lack a regular m
new leadership; frequentl
unclear and lacks legitim
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coerce a large population
tly; instead, it coerces
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ement among witnesses, auth-
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inconsistencies.

r points of agreement and
ment among witnesses, auth-
other sources of informa-

6. The Soviet Union has had repeated trouble in solving the problem of succession. Oligarchies lack a regular means of selectin new leadership; frequently the process is unclear and lacks legitimacy for the grea number of the public.

73. Have a pupil prepare a bulletin board dispaly on "Techniques of Control in the Soviet Union."

74. Have a panel discussion on the problem of succession in Soviet Russia. The panel should compare what happened after Lenin's death with what happened after Stalin's death and with the way the present leaders come to power. It should also discuss the problems facing the present government and some of the predictions about what will happen in the next few years. It should emphasize the kind of tactics used in the power struggle. It might point out the way in which some authorities see recent tactics as leading to further unrest and perhaps even greater democracy in the Soviet Union.

McClosky and
Dict., pp. 2
Swearer and
Contemp. Com
Hendel, ed.,
pp. 416-440;
Conquest, Ru
shchev;
Christoph, e
Comparative
383.

75. Perhaps show the film The Rise of Khrushchev. Have pupils compare the information presented in it with that presented by the panel (activity #74). Or use this film without the panel and have students compare the rise of Khrushchev with what they know about the rise of Stalin.

Film: The R
chev, McGraw

76. Have pupils read Khrushchev's attack on Stalin. Discuss: Does Khrushchev support or contradict your earlier findings about the extent of civil liberties in the U.S.S.R. under Stalin? What persuasion devices did Khrushchev use in this speech? How did he try to protect himself? What Marxian arguments does he use? How consistent is his blaming Stalin's cult of personality and his role in what happened in the U.S.S.R. with the Marxian ideas of what influences the course of events in history?

"Selected Re
Society."

pupil prepare a bulletin board dispaly on "Tech-
of Control in the Soviet Union."

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Russia. The panel should compare what happened
Lenin's death with what happened after Stalin's
and with the way the present leaders come to power.
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in the next few years. It should emphasize the
f tactics used in the power struggle. It might
out the way in which some authorities see recent
s as leading to further unrest and perhaps even
r democracy in the Soviet Union.

McClosky and Turner, Sov. Dict., pp. 293-383;
Swearer and Longaker, eds., Contemp. Communism, pp. 92-
Hendel, ed., Sov. Crucible, pp. 416-440;
Conquest, Russia After Khru shchev;
Christoph, ed., Cases in Comparative Politics, pp. 2
383.

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compare the information presented in it with that
ted by the panel (activity #74). Or use this film
t the panel and have students compare the rise of
chev with what they know about the rise of Stalin.

Film: The Rise of Khrushchev, McGraw-Hill.

pupils read Khrushchev's attack on Stalin. Discuss:
Khrushchev support or contradict your earlier find-
about the extent of civil liberties in the U.S.S.R.
Stalin? What persuasion devices did Khrushchev
this speech? How did he try to protect himself?
Marxian arguments does he use? How consistent is
laming Stalin's cult of personality and his role in
happened in the U.S.S.R. with the Marxian ideas of
influences the course of events in history?

"Selected Readings on Sovie
Society."

S. Detects inconsistencies.

G. Individuals know the political system as a set of images and pictures related for them by communicators; they react to these images rather than to the real world and real people.

G. Changes in one aspect of a culture will have effects on other aspects; changes will ramify whether they are technological, in social organization, in ideology, or whatever else is a part of the cultural system.

G. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to public opinion.

S. Distinguishes between difficulty of proving statements.

G. Changes in one aspect of a culture will have effects on other aspects; changes will ramify whether they

77. Now have pupils read an excerpt from the 1961 party program of the Soviet Communist Party dealing with the class struggle. Ask: When Khrushchev attacked Stalin, what did he say about Stalin's interpretation of the intensification of the class struggle? This party program was written with Khrushchev's consent. How consistent is it with what Khrushchev said about Stalin's comments on the class struggle?

"Selected Read
Society."

78. A pupil might write an imaginary interview which a correspondent might have had secretly with a communist delegate who had just heard the Khrushchev speech attacking Stalin.

79. Have a pupil give a report on some of the theories as to why Khrushchev made this attack upon Stalin and ways in which he hedged later on in his public attitude toward Stalin. Discuss: What dangers did the Soviet leaders run in making this attack? Why did they modify the early attack somewhat later on? What were the motives behind the amnesties and change in terroristic policies? Why is it difficult to judge the accuracy of the theories about Khrushchev's motives?

Dallin and Wes
itics in the S
ch. 3.
Salisbury, Sov
pp. 29-32;
Beer and Ulam,
Gov't., pp. 71

80. Have a group of students prepare an imaginary U.S. newspaper which might have appreared after Khrushchev's downfall from power. The paper should include editorials,

pupils read an excerpt from the 1961 party pro-
he Soviet Communist Party dealing with the class
Ask: When Khrushchev attacked Stalin, what
ay about Stalin's interpretation of the intensi-
of the class struggle? This party program was
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"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

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ushchev's motives?

Dallin and Westin, eds., Politics in the Soviet Union, ch. 3.
Salisbury, Soviet Union, pp. 29-32;
Beer and Ulam, Patterns of Gov't., pp. 718-721.

roup of students prepare an imaginary U.S. news-
ich might have appreared after Khrushchev's down-
n power. The paper should include editorials,

are technological, in social organization, in ideology, or whatever else is a part of the cultural system.

G. The world is a community of interdependent countries. (Important political happenings in one part of the world affect other parts.)

G. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and also organize its strategies and provide intellectual leadership.

G. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals.

S. Identifies basic assumptions.

G. Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political system, the answers they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for responses they suggest.

7. Although Soviet leaders have
reinterpreted Marxian theori
though some may not believe
ologies as strongly as they
ian ideology continues to ha
upon the Soviet political an
system.

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in ideology, or whatever
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over scarce values or

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they give to the politi-
m, the answers they give
ous situations, and the
responses they suggest.

7. Although Soviet leaders have modified and reinterpreted Marxian theories, and although some may not believe in these ideologies as strongly as they profess, Marxian ideology continues to have an impact upon the Soviet political and economic system.

reactions from different capitals of the world, articles presenting a background of the news, and articles by Sovietologists on what the downfall might mean and what caused it.

81. A pupil might write imaginary interviews with one of the present Soviet leaders and with Khrushchev on why Khrushchev lost power in the Soviet Union.

82. Ask: If you were a Soviet leader how would you try to explain why it has not withered away so far? Now read to the class Stalin's explanation. Also read them Khrushchev's prediction about when it would wither away.

    Discuss: Do you think Khrushchev's prediction is likely to come true? Why or why not? What assumptions would he have had to accept to argue logically that his predictions would come true?

"Selected Readi
Society."

83. Tell pupils that you are going to have them read a statement by an American which shows how his ideology affects his actions. They should try to decide what his ideology is and how it does affect his actions. Now give pupils the materials (with blanks which they should try to

Mehlinger, Stud
tarianism, pp.

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ng a background of the news, and articles by
ogists on what the downfall might mean and what

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"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

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ions. They should try to decide what his ideol-
nd how it does affect his actions. Now give pu-
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Mehlinger, Study of Totalitarianism, pp. 54-59.

G. People with different ideologies may perceive the same scene and their ideologies will give it sharply - different meaning and significance -- maybe even different perception of the facts.

G. Decision-making in a democracy is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

G. In a totalitarian system there is no separation of powers between those who make and those who carry out policy.

G. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisions.

G. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to public opinion; however, the way in which these factors influence decision making differs in democra-

8. Policy-making in the Sov
from political decision-
even though some of the
fect and limit decision-
political systems.

with different ideologies
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from other decision-makers
public opinion; however, the
which these factors influence
on making differs in democra-

8. Policy-making in the Soviet Union differs from political decision-making in the U.S. even though some of the same factors affect and limit decision-making in both political systems.

fill in) as suggested in the Mehlinger booklet on totalitarianism. Discuss the implications of ideology for actions. How does Marxian ideology affect Soviet actions?

84. Have a pupil tell the class about what the Harvard Study found about Marxian reasoning even when refugees claimed to have given up Marxian ideology. He might also point out some of the conclusions which social scientists have reached about the implications of ideology for Soviet leaders even when they may not be such true believers as some of the earlier leaders.

Bauer et. al.
System Works,
194-196, 199;
Brzenski, Sov
388-393.

85. Review what pupils have learned in earlier grades (particularly in the Center's eighth grade course) about factors affecting and limiting political decision-making in the U.S. Now tell the class that they will be reading about decision-making in the Soviet Union. They are to try to decide whether or not the same factors affect and limit decision-making. Among other things, for example, they are to decide whether policy-making is limited by permissability in a totalitarian country. They are also to compare the degree of centralization of decision-making and the carrying out of policies.

"Selected Rea
viet Society.

Now have pupils read the Carnegie Institute Project Social Studies readings on policy-making in the Soviet Union. Afterwards, have the class compare political decision-making in the U.S. and in the Soviet Union.

suggested in the Mehlinger booklet on total-
Discuss the implications of ideology for
ow does Marxian ideology affect Soviet actions?

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Marxian reasoning even when refugees claimed
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n when they may not be such true believers as
earlier leaders.

Bauer et. al., How the Soviet System Works, ch. 3 and pp. 194-196, 199;
Brzenski, Soviet Bloc, pp. 388-393.

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npare the degree of centralization of decision-
the carrying out of policies.

"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

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adings on policy-making in the Soviet Union.
, have the class compare political decision-mak-
U.S. and in the Soviet Union.

tic and totalitarian societies.

G. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made; actual institutions may not conform with those in constitutional documents.

G. Political decision-making is limited by many factors; permissability, available resources, available time, available information, and previous committments.

G. People with different ideologies may perceive the same scene and their ideologies will give it sharply different meaning and significance -- maybe even different perceptions of the facts.

A. IS SCEPTICAL OF CONVENTIONAL TRUTHS AND DEMANDS THAT WIDELY-HELD AND POPULAR NOTIONS BE JUDGED IN ACCORDANCE WITH STANDARDS OF EMPIRICAL VALIDATION.

S. Generalizes from data.

G. Freedom is culturally determined; the individual has to be taught what the options are, how one goes about exercising them, why he should exercise them, etc.

86. Have two pupils role-play a discussion between a Soviet citizen and an American on which country is more democratic.

87. Read aloud a quotation from someone predicting revolution in the U.S.S.R. because of popular dissatisfactions. Then have a pupil report on the findings of the Harvard Center about the degree of political alienation under Stalin. What did the Center find out about sources of support for the regime, about loyalty to the Soviet Union, and about sources of dissatisfaction?

Discuss: Given these attitudes of refugees, what do you think were the chances of a revolution against the Soviet leaders even under Stalin? Given changes which have taken place in Russia since Stalin's death do you think the sources of dissatisfaction have been increased or de-

Inkeles and
Society, pp.
of the detai
are found in
Bauer, Sovie
10-12, 14 or
How the Sov,
Chs. 12, 13,

pupils role-play a discussion between a Soviet
and an American on which country is more demo-

oud a quotation from someone predicting revolu-
the U.S.S.R. because of popular dissatisfac-
Then have a pupil report on the findings of the
Center about the degree of political alienation
talin. What did the Center find out about sources
ort for the regime, about loyalty to the Soviet
nd about sources of dissatisfaction?

Inkeles and Geiger, Sov. Society, pp. 228-238. More of the details of the study are found in Inkeles and Bauer, Soviet Citizen, chs. 10-12, 14 or Bauer, et. al., How the Sov. System Works, Chs. 12, 13, 16.

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aders even under Stalin? Given changes which have
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rces of dissatisfaction have been increased or de-

A. HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S.

G. Although culture is always changing, certain parts or elements persist over long periods of time.

G. Even when a major reorganization of a society takes place (such as a revolution), not all of a culture is completely modified.

creased? Do you think the evidence available should lead us to any prediction of a revolution within Russia in the forseeable future?

88. Hold a summarizing discussion on the Soviet political system. Ask: How does the Soviet system differ from ours? (Be sure that pupils analyze differences in who holds power, in degree of control by the government of people's lives, attitudes toward individuals, role of political parties, civil liberties, etc.)

Say: Now that you have studied further data about the Soviet political system, let's go back to a question we raised earlier. Why do you think the Soviet leaders spend time, effort, and money on setting up democratic forms such as a constitution, civil liberties, elections, a legislative system of soviets, etc.? (After pupils have discussed this question, quote Ulam's interpretation of some of the reasons which go beyond sheer propaganda purposes.)

Beer and Ulam
Government, p

89. Quote Salisbury on the possible effects of scientific training upon political affairs in the U.S.S.R.

Salisbury, Th
pp. 29, 35.

90. Have pupils write a paper in which they compare the Soviet government with that under the Tsars. They should compare the status of civil liberties, the degree of autocracy, and who holds the power.

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any prediction of a revolution within Rus-
forseeable future?

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oses.)

Beer and Ulam, Patterns of Government, pp. 51, 656ff.

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pon political affairs in the U.S.S.R.

Salisbury, The Soviet Union, pp. 29, 35.

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nment with that under the Tsars. They should
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and who holds the power.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

S. Checks facts against own background of information.

G. Industrial capacity and energy sources are important bases for national power.

A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA AND HUMAN BEHAVIOR AND WISHES TO READ AND STUDY FURTHER IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

G. Economic systems are usually mixed, with both public and private ownership and with decisions made both by the government and by consumers.

G. In practice, in communist countries the means of production are almost all owned by the government.

B. The Soviet government controls
system.

1. The government owns almost a
of production, although indiv
own private property of certa

   a. The government owns the fa
   mines, although a few peop
   gage in handicraft work an
   own products. No one can

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with decisions made both
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ice, in communist countries
s of production are almost
d by the government.

B. The Soviet government controls the economic system.

1. The government owns almost all the means of production, although individuals can own private property of certain kinds.

   a. The government owns the factories and mines, although a few people still engage in handicraft work and sell their own products. No one can employ another

1. Ask: Given what you have learned about the Soviet government, what would you expect to find true about its role in the Soviet economic system? Have pupils set up hypotheses with a series of if-then statements bearing upon ownership of resources of production; who makes decisions about what should be produced, how much should be produced, how it shall be produced, who will get what; what controls labor unions, etc. After a brief discussion, tell pupils they can check their guesses as they study the next part of the unit.

   Some pupils will already know something about the economic system or will at least think they do. These ideas should be listed on the board for checking during the next few days.

2. Read aloud excerpts from one of Khrushchev's speeches in which he announced that the U.S.S.R. would overtake and far surpass the U.S. in output within a few years.

   "Teacher's Su
   Unit on U.S.S

   Discuss: On the basis of what you know already, do you think this prospect likely? Why or why not? Why would you question his prediction? If he were right, do you think it would be any cause for concern? Why or why not?

   Tell pupils that they will find out more about this economic race as they study the next part of the unit.

3. Have all pupils read one of a number of brief accounts of how property is owned, the way in which the Soviet economic system was controlled under Stalin, and the way in which the planning was done and enforced under Stalin. They should also read very brief descriptions of the changes made by Khrushchev.

   Lengyel, Sov,
   57 and Lovens
   ism, Communis
   pp. 78-80, 88
   planning.
   Ebenstein, Co

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"Teacher's Supplement to Unit on U.S.S.R."

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Lengyel, Sov. Union, pp. 56-57 and Lovenstein, Capitalism, Communism, Socialism, pp. 78-80, 88-95 discuss planning.
Ebenstein, Communism in

G. In command economies most of the basic economic decisions are made by the government.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

A. RESPECTS EVIDENCE EVEN WHEN IT CONTRADICTS PREJUDICES AND PRECONCEPTIONS.

and sell the products
produces, although he
one to provide him wit
vices.

b. The government owns th
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ers can sell the produ
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specified amounts to t

c. People can own persona
various kinds, includi
if they can afford to
ever, most homes are n
ly. People can also p
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inheritance taxes as c
in the U.S.

d. People can own savings
banks.

mmand economies most of the economic decisions are made e government.

up hypotheses.

TS EVIDENCE EVEN WHEN IT CON-
TS PREJUDICES AND PRECONCEP-

and sell the products the employee produces, although he can employ someone to provide him with personal services.

b. The government owns the farm land, although it permits collectives and state farms to assign certain small lots to farmers for their own use. These farmers can sell the produce left over on the open market after selling certain specified amounts to the government.

c. People can own personal property of various kinds, including their own homes if they can afford to build them. However, most homes are not owned privately. People can also pass on their private property to others with very small inheritance taxes as compared to those in the U.S.

d. People can own savings accounts in banks.

Discuss: What is the difference between the kinds of property which people in the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. can own? What does the fact that people can own some private property indicate about the kinds of economic decisions consumers can make? (Have pupils set up hypotheses here to test later.)

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26, 28) and
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Loucks, Comp
pp. 544-548.
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tives and st

4. Have a pupil report on the use of savings banks and lotteries in savings banks.

Norton, Only
127-129;
Stavrianos,
World Hist.,

What is the difference between the kinds of
which people in the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. can
t does the fact that people can own some pri-
erty indicate about the kinds of economic de-
onsumers can make? (Have pupils set up hypoth-
to test later.)

Theory and Practice, p. 56 discusses ownership and differences between socialism and communism. The Schwartz pamphlet (Sov. Union) discusses both ownership (pp. 25-26, 28) and planning (pp. 29-33). Mehlinger's Communism in Theory and Practice has a reading by a Russian on planning (pp. 47-52). Swearingen, World of Communism, discusses ownership (pp. 83-86) and planning (pp. 78-80). Petrovich, Soviet Union, pp. 70-71, treats both topics very briefly. Chapter 4 in Thayer, Russia, should prove useful. More difficult treatment can be found in many books, such as Turner and McClosky, Sov. Dict., pp. 518-519. Nove, Sov. Economy, p. 27 (on ownership); Loucks, Comparative Ec. Systems, pp. 544-548. Easy accounts of collectives can be found in Swearingen, World of Communism; Editors of Scholastic Book Services, Sov. Union, pp. 88-91; and Mandel, Russia Re-examined, pp. 118-121 (collectives and state farms).

il report on the use of savings banks and
in savings banks.

Norton, Only in Rus pp. 127-129;
Stavrianos, Readings in World Hist., pp. 374-75.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

S. Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.

G. Every economic system faces scarcity or a lack of enough productive resources to satisfy all human wants.

G. If productive resources are fully employed, investment in capital goods for future production requires some sacrifice in current comsumption.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

G. In practice, in communist countries, the means of production are almost all owned by the government.

G. In command economies most of the basic economic decisions are made by the government.

G. The power to allocate resources is important to the power to control what and how much will be produced.

2. The government (under th
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controlled production th
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a. The top leaders in th
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b. Until 1964 the govern
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2. The government (under the control of the top leaders of the Communist Party) has controlled production through a system of central planning and through various techniques for enforcing these plans.

   a. The top leaders in the government set up the goals for the economic system. They have decided in general terms what the emphasis should be on the production of consumers' goods, as against producers' goods, industrial goods as against farm products, military goods as against non-military goods, and the rate of investment needed in terms of the goal of economic growth. This means that the economic system can be used by political leaders for political ends.

   b. Until 1964 the government determined what should be produced, how much of each item should be produced, how materials should be allocated, wages of labor and managers, and prices for goods to be sold to consumers.

      1) The power to control material allocations is important to the power to control what shall be produced. When shortages showed up during the carrying out of long-term plans, the

5. Discuss: What did you learn from your reading about how the communist leaders control the plans? Is this system of planning democratic? Why or why not? What kinds of overall decisions do the communist leaders make? Why do leaders have to make choices between producers' and consumers' goods and between military and non-military production? How does this control over production jibe with what you guessed about the role of the government in a totalitarian system?

   Also ask: What problems do you think the Soviet government might encounter in trying to develop plans for all of the country's economic output?

6. Give pupils a summary of the Seven Year Plan (or some other plan) to illustrate the kinds of goals set up in these plans. Use both written descriptions and tables.

For such a sum
seven year pla
Sov. Crucible,

7. Tell pupils that they will find out more about allocation of materials to plants later when they study the way in which managers of plants operate. Meanwhile, just tell them that each manager or collective farm chairman is given quotas of the materials and tools and machines which he can get during each year of the plan.

   Discuss: How can these materials quotas help ensure the carrying out of the overall production quotas? Suppose that the leaders find that production of many products, particularly some they consider most essential, is falling behind. How can they use the allocation of materials to

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For such a summary of the seven year plan, see Hendel, *Sov. Crucible*, pp. 524-526.

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S. Sets up hypotheses.

G. The allocation of resources in a command economy is determined basically by the central planners, not by free consumer demands.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

S. Deduces possible consequences from hypotheses (if-then statements) to guide collection of data.

S. Draws inferences from tables.

S. Checks hypotheses against data.

S. Draws inferences from tables.

G. Indirect taxes take a larger proportion of the income of those in lower income levels than of those in upper income levels if both groups buy the goods on which the taxes are placed.

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fulfillment of the
materials to make
parts of the plan
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2) The setting of wage
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3) The government sets
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leaders decided on priorities in fulfillment of the plan and allocated materials to make sure that these parts of the plan could be completed even though other parts were not fulfilled.

2) The setting of wage rates has been used to attract workers into certain industries which are considered most essential or into unattractive industries and places where working and living conditions are poor.

3) The government sets prices on consumer goods so as to prevent inflation when workers get higher wages without an equal increase in consumer goods. It also uses the turnover tax (which is added to the wholesale price when consumer prices are set)

speed production in these essential industries at the expense of the others? Tell pupils they will check their hypotheses later.

8. Point out that until 1964 all wages were set by the government and still are in many cases. Discuss: Suppose you were the government planners and wanted to attract more labor to unpleasant spots such as Siberia where the government is building an important new plant. How could you adjust wages to help get the needed workers? Suppose you find that certain key plants in large cities are finding it hard to get workers because of some of the difficulties on the job. How could you adjust wages to help get more workers for these plants?

   Have pupils prepare if-then statements which might be used to check hypotheses about how the Soviet government might use wages in these ways.

9. Prepare a table showing wage rates in several different industries. (At this point don't differentiate between piece workers and other workers.) Show table to students and ask: Does this data bear out or contradict your hypotheses?

   Now read statement from Campbell on use of wages to attract workers to certain areas. Does this statement support or contradict hypotheses which pupils developed?

"Selected Readi
viet Society" (
Campbell, Sov.
p. 136.

10. Read aloud Lenin's comments on the abuses of indirect taxes. Then have pupils examine tables showing kinds of taxes in the Soviet Union and changing turnover tax rates. Make sure that they understand how the turnover tax works. Also tell the class that Khrushchev announced the end of the income tax in 1959. Then ask: Did Soviet taxation policies during these years seem to follow Lenin's ideas

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see "Teacher's
to the Unit on
For tables, se
Readings on Sov

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"Selected Readings on Soviet Society" (for tables). Campbell, Sov. Econ. Power, p. 136.

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For quotation from Lenin, see "Teacher's Supplement to the Unit on the U.S.S.R." For tables, see "Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

to pay for investment.

G. If purchasing power increases without some corresponding increase of available materials, there is an upward pressure on prices.

G. The allocation of resources in command economies is determined basically by the central planners, not by free consumer demand.

G. By its taxation policies, governments influence who shall get what proportion of certain kinds of output of the economy.

or violate them?

Perhaps have some pupil prepare a similar table to show the amount raised by different federal taxes during several of these same years. After pupils have examined it, they should discuss: Which country came closer to following Lenin's advice? Which country taxes its citizens more heavily?

Now tell the class that Soviet leaders have usually denied that the turnover tax is really a tax. They have called it a "profit of the socialist economy" or spoken of the "net income" of the state from its economic enterprises. They go on to insist that most of the state's revenues come from sources other than taxation. Have the class discuss this claim.

11. Have a good student report on the *purposes* of the turnover tax. Be sure that pupils understand the way in which the tax is used to boost prices to prevent inflation, to restrict consumption of certain goods and push consumption of other goods, and to pay for investment. Discuss: How can governments set tax rates to affect which people get certain kinds of goods? (Have pupils compare rates in kind as against luxury goods.)

Brumberg,
Khrushchev
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12. Now summarize on the board the factors considered in setting prices and how these affect consumers and production.

Loucks,
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534-37.

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Brumberg, ed., Russia Under Khrushchev, pp. 177-188 (especially pp. 179-180).

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Loucks, Comparative Economic Systems, pp. 528-30, 534-37.

G. By its taxation policies, governments influence who shall get what proportion of certain kinds of output of the economy.

4) By setting wage
income tax rate
kinds of goods
and by setting
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system.

G. The fundamental difference between economic systems is in how and by whom the basic economic decisions over allocation of resources are made rather than in who owns the resources.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

G. The allocation of resources in command economies is determined basically by the central planners, not by free consumer demand.

c. Specific planning h
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the central planners, not by
consumer demand.

4) By setting wages and salaries and income tax rates, by deciding what kinds of goods will be produced, and by setting prices, the government determines how different parts of the population will share in the goods turned out by the economic system.

c. Specific planning has been done by a State Planning Commission. It has consulted plants and farm organizations about the details for each. This planning is a complicated process, since a plan to increase production in one type of commodity requires a plan to increase the production of other commodities needed in its production; changes in goals for these other com-

13. Now have pupils examine the table on former income tax rates for different groups. They should compare it with a table showing income tax rates in this country. Discuss: What is the major difference between the way in which the income taxes are levied?

"Selected Re
viet Society

14. Discuss: How has the Soviet government determined who will get what part of the output of the Soviet economy? How is this kind of division determined in the U.S.? How do the two systems differ in the ways in which the basic economic questions facing any economic system are settled? (What shall be produced? How much? How shall it be produced? Who will get what? How fast should the economy grow?)

Have pupils set up hypotheses about possible effects of these two types of systems on such things as economic growth, efficient use of capital and planning of replacement, production of goods desired by consumers, wage differentials, etc. They should test these hypotheses against data as they study aspects of the economic system.

15. Project the input-output table in Boddy's article in Holt and Turner. Now have pupils try to figure out changes which would have to be made if the Central Planning Agency wished to increase metal production by ten per cent.

Holt and Tur
Union, pp. 7
Campbell, So
pp. 88-89, 9

After pupils have struggled with this problem for a while, show them a slightly more elaborate input-output table as shown in Campbell. Have them discuss the difficulties in making adjustments in all items when they wish to increase

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"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

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Holt and Turner, *Sov. Union*, pp. 77-79; Campbell, *Sov. Ec. Power*, pp. 88-89, 98.

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G. As economic systems become more mature and complex, centralized planning becomes more difficult, although modern computers facilitate the detailed planning needed.

1) The problem of setting
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2) The problem of making t
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G. Both centralization and decentralization of economic planning have advantages and disadvantages in terms of the rational use of resources to achieve the major goals of planning for an entire economy.

d. The Soviets have faced pr
centralized control and w
gional control.

G. Even in a centrally planned economy, economic planners cannot make all of the decisions as to all of the details of what, how much, and how things shall be produced.

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modities require changes in the production of the inputs needed to produce them.

1) The problem of setting quotas for all goods became more difficult because of the greater maturity of the system. The planners had to pay attention to a much wider variety of goods.

2) The problem of making the needed estimates was eased somewhat by modern computers, although the Soviet Union has not kept pace with the U.S. in developing computers.

d. The Soviets have faced problems both with centralized control and with greater regional control.

the output of just one of them. Quote Boddy and Campbell about the number of adjustments which would have to be made.

Discuss: Would it be easier or more difficult to handle central planning as the economy grows and becomes more mature? Why? What might be one way in which the Soviets could try to reduce some of the problems?

Have pupils look at a table showing use of data processing equipment in the U.S.S.R in 1962 and in the U.S. in 1963. Ask: Why do you think the compiler of this table used different years rather than the same year for both countries? (lack of comparable data gathered for same year). How should we interpret this data diven the difference? Despite this difference, what light does this data throw on the degree to which Soviet planners and managers could use data processing equipment in 1962?

"Selected Re
viet Society
Mosely, Sov.
Khrushchev,

Now quote Mosely on the push which is being made to use computers in planning.

16. Read aloud Nove's comment on the myth that everyone does exactly as he is told and that he is told all the details. Point out that this is the textbook account both in the U.S.S.R. and in many simplified accounts in the U.S. Discuss: Does the textbook account of capitalism always describe accurately what happens in the U.S.? Why or why not? Why do you think the Soviets can't plan all the details? What might happen to make the Soviet textbook account not hold true even in cases where details have been planned?

Nove, Sov. E

tput of just one of them. Quote Boddy and Camp-
bout the number of adjustments which would have
made.

s: Would it be easier or more difficult to handle
l planning as the economy grows and becomes more
? Why? What might be one way in which the Soviets
try to reduce some of the problems?

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uipment in the U.S.S.R in 1962 and in the U.S. in
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e? Despite this difference, what light does this
hrow on the degree to which Soviet planners and
rs could use data processing equipment in 1962?

"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."
Mosely, Sov. Union Since Khrushchev, pp. 30-31.

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Why do you think the Soviets can't plan all the de-
? What might happen to make the Soviet textbook ac-
not hold true even in cases where details have been
ed?

Nove, Sov. Economy, p. 18.

G. Misallocation of resources costs consumers what they could otherwise have had.

S. Draws inferences from tables.

G. Misallocation of resources costs consumers what they could otherwise have had.

G. Both centralization and decentralization of economic planning have advantages and disadvantages in terms of the rational use of resources to achieve the major goals of planning for an entire economy.

S. Draws inferences from tables.

G. If productive resources are fully employed, investment in capital goods for future production re-

3. The Soviet leaders have e
ment in heavy industry in
fast economic growth. Th
accomplished through forc
Soviet people and therefo

ocation of resources costs
rs what they could other-
ve had.

nferences from tables.

cation of resources costs
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ntralization and decentral-
of economic planning have
ges and disadvantages in
f the rational use of re-
to achieve the major goals
ning for an entire economy.

nferences from tables.

uctive resources are fully
d, investment in capital
or future production re-

3. The Soviet leaders have emphasized investment in heavy industry in order to achieve fast economic growth. This goal has been accomplished through forced savings by the Soviet people and therefore low living

17. Tell the class about examples of errors in the placement of plants during the early years of planning. Discuss: Do you think such errors are ever made in the U.S.? Who takes the loss in the U.S. in such cases? Do you think that such errors are more likely to take place in the U.S. or in the U.S.S.R.? Why?	Zavalini, H Russia?, pp (Or see sum "Teachers S on the U.S.
18. Have pupils read quotations from Khrushchev attacking poor planning and attacks in the Soviet press on poor planning. Then have them study a table showing the amount of capital tied up in unfinished projects. Discuss: Was Khrushchev justified in his criticism about unfinished projects? Why do you think Khrushchev and others in the press made these criticisms? Why was Khrushchev concerned about the amount of capital tied up in unfinished projects? Does this ever happen in the U.S.? If so, who takes the loss? Who takes the loss in Russia when this happens?	"Selected R viet Societ
19. Have a group of students assume the roles of Soviet leaders who are discussing the pros and cons of centralization of planning and controlling the economy (as under Stalin) against the kind of regionalization developed for a time under Khrushchev.	Holt and Tu pp. 79-81, Brumberg, R shchev, pp. Schwartz, T Since Stali Loucks, Com pp. 486-490 Union Since 29-30.
20. Have pupils examine tables indicating the goals for consumer goods and producer's goods in a number of plans. Discuss: What do these plans show about decisions of Soviet leaders on the comparative emphasis to be placed upon consumers' and producers' goods? Why do you think	See scatter lini under Zavalini gi in the body than in tab

e class about examples of errors in the place- plants during the early years of planning. Dis- Do you think such errors are ever made in the Who takes the loss in the U.S. in such cases? think that such errors are more likely to take n the U.S. or in the U.S.S.R.? Why?	Zavalini, How Strong Is Russia?, pp. 17, 169-70. (Or see summary of ideas in "Teachers Supplement to Unit on the U.S.S.R.")
pils read quotations from Khrushchev attacking anning and attacks in the Soviet press on poor g. Then have them study a table showing the of capital tied up in unfinished projects. Dis- Was Khrushchev justified in his criticism about hed projects? Why do you think Khrushchev and in the press made these criticisms? Why was hev concerned about the amount of capital tied nfinished projects? Does this ever happen in .? If so, who takes the loss? Who takes the Russia when this happens?	"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."
group of students assume the roles of Soviet who are discussing the pros and cons of central- of planning and controlling the economy (as under against the kind of regionalization developed for under Khrushchev.	Holt and Turner, Sov. Union, pp. 79-81, 83-85; Brumberg, Russia Under Khrushchev, pp. 189-204; Schwartz, The Soviet Economy Since Stalin, pp. 87-93; Loucks, Comp. Ec. Systems, pp. 486-490; Mosely, Sov. Union Since Khrushchev, pp. 29-30.
pils examine tables indicating the goals for con- oods and producer's goods in a number of plans. : What do these plans show about decisions of So- aders on the comparative emphasis to be placed up- umers' and producers' goods? Why do you think	See scattered pages in Zavalini under each of plans. Zavalini gives many of goals in the body of book rather than in tables.

quires some sacrifice in current consumption.

G. Capital formation through saving is a major means of increasing an economy's total output over time because it increases productive capacity.

S. Draws inferences from tables.

S. Uses statistical devices for analyzing data.

levels among Soviet far
dwellers.

a. The plans have set muc
for heavy industry tha
aimed at producing co
Resources have been al
overachieve many of th
industry and underachi
goals for consumers' g

some sacrifice in current
ption.

formation through saving
ajor means of increasing an
y's total output over time
e it increases productive
ty.

inferences from tables.

tatistical devices for ana-
data.

levels among Soviet farmers and city dwellers.

a. The plans have set much higher goals for heavy industry than for industry aimed at producing consumers' goods. Resources have been allocated so as to overachieve many of the goals for heavy industry and underachieve many of the goals for consumers' goods.

leaders decided to put such emphasis upon heavy industry? If the consumers had any say in the matter, do you think they would have made the same decision? Why or why not?	"Selected Reac viet Society."
21. Now have pupils examine a series of tables on production of consumer goods during Stalin's day. Discuss: Did production of consumer goods come up to planned production? How did success in meeting plans for consumer goods compare with success in meeting plans for producers' goods? Can you think of any reasons to account for this difference? What do these tables indicate about the levels of living of Soviet consumers during the period for which the tables give figures? What happened to levels of living from 1913 to 1937 (as the end of the third five year plan)?	"Selected Reac viet Society."
Now quote Khrushchev on need for greater production of consumer goods and have pupils examine tables on the Seven Year Plan for increases in consumer goods as well as tables showing actual production and planned production of certain kinds of consumer goods under Khrushchev, tables on comparative industrial and farm production, on growth rates in heavy and consumer industry. (Before pupils study tables using index numbers, review the meaning and use of index numbers.) Discuss: Did the Soviet leaders change the relative emphasis upon consumer goods after Stalin's death?	"Teacher's Sup Unit on the U, "Selected Reac viet Society."

ecided to put such emphasis upon heavy indus- the consumers had any say in the matter, do you y would have made the same decision? Why or

"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

pupils examine a series of tables on production ner goods during Stalin's day. Discuss: Did n of consumer goods come up to planned produc- w did success in meeting plans for consumer pare with success in meeting plans for produc- s? Can you think of any reasons to account for ference? What do these tables indicate about s of living of Soviet consumers during the per- hich the tables give figures? What happened to living from 1913 to 1937 (as the end of the year plan)?

"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

Khrushchev on need for greater production of goods and have pupils examine tables on the r Plan for increases in consumer goods as well showing actual production and planned produc- ertain kinds of consumer goods under Khrushchev, comparative industrial and farm production, on ates in heavy and consumer industry. (Before pupils les using index numbers, review the meaning and dex numbers.) Discuss: Did the Soviet leaders e relative emphasis upon consumer goods after death?

"Teacher's Supplement to Unit on the U.S.S.R."
"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

G. If productive resources are fully employed, investment in capital goods for future production requires some sacrifice in current consumption.

S. Draws inferences from tables.

G. If productive resources are fully employed, investment in capital goods for future production requires some sacrifice in current consumption.

G. Industrial capacity and energy sources are important bases for national power.

G. Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political and economic systems, the answers which they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for responses they suggest.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

b. Much of the investment
been financed at the e
farmers who were force
farms.

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ed, investment in capital
for future production requires
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inferences from tables.

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ses they suggest.

tarianisms extend the scope
itics far beyond the usual
lude almost all aspects of

b. Much of the investment in industry has been financed at the expense of the farmers who were forced into collective farms.

22. Have pupils examine a table on Soviet investment by type from 1955 to 1962. Ask: What happened to investment in housing? In other consumer goods production? in producers' goods production? What do these figures show about the emphasis of Soviet leaders after Stalin's death upon consumption goods?

Schwartz, S
Since Stali

23. Have a pupil prepare a graph which compares the proportion of heavy industrial production to total industrial production under Stalin's last complete year in office (1952) and 1963. (The figures are 70% for 1952 and 75% for 1963.)

Project the graph in class. Then ask: Does this graph support or contradict your conclusions based on other tables? Why do you think Khrushchev may have failed to increase consumer production as much as he promised to?

Data taken
Soviet Econ
p. 125.

24. Have pupils read a selection from Stalin's speech in which he gave his reasons for the need to catch up with other countries in production. Discuss: Why did Stalin place this goal so high? Do you think present leaders have the same reasons? How did his ideology seem to affect his perceptions of the world.

"Selected R
viet Societ

25. Have pupils think back to their reading (activity #3). How are collective farms organized in theory? in practice? (If necessary, have pupils skim this reading once more.) How are collective farmers paid? Do you think

For exampl
days are a
collective
see Nove, S

pils examine a table on Soviet investment by type 55 to 1962. Ask: What happened to investment in ? In other consumer goods production? in produc- ods production? What do these figures show about hasis of Soviet leaders after Stalin's death ~~upon~~ tion goods?	Schwartz, Soviet Economy Since Stalin, p. 47.
pupil prepare a graph which compares the propor- heavy industrial production to total industrial ion under Stalin's last complete year in office and 1963. (The figures are 70% for 1952 and 75% 3)	Data taken from Schwartz, Soviet Economy Since Stalin, p. 125.
the graph in class. Then ask: Does this graph or contradict your conclusions based on other Why do you think Khrushchev may have failed to e consumer production as much as he promised to?	
pils read a selection from Stalin's speech in e gave his reasons for the need to catch up with ountries in production. Discuss: Why did Stalin his goal so high? Do you think present leaders e same reasons? How did his ideology seem to af- s perceptions of the world.	"Selected Readings on So- viet Society."
pils think back to their reading (activity #3). collective farms organized in theory? in prac- (If necessary, have pupils skim this reading once How are collective farmers paid? Do you think	For examples of how work days are alloted and how collective farmers are paid, see Nove, Sov. Economy, pp.

G. Oligarchies maintain themselves with the forms of democracy....

G. In command economies most of the basic economic decisions are made by the government.

G. Centrally planned economies find it easier to divert resources to certain goals than do governments in economics based upon a market system.

G. People tend to work hardest at those jobs for which they receive the greatest incentives (monetary and non-monetary).

G. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

1) Collective farms a
aged by the member
tives, and the pro
among the members
amount of work don

a) The collective
elect a chairma
and manages the
the chairman is
Communist Party

b) Farmers work in
kinds of jobs.
year (or now at
month) profits
are shared amon
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has spent worki
tive's land. H
are figured on
of work. Peopl
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differing numbe
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ontrast between democratic and
mocratic systems may be looked
a conflict in basic underlying
s.

1) Collective farms are supposedly managed by the members of the collectives, and the profits are divided among the members in terms of the amount of work done by each.

   a) The collective farmers supposedly elect a chairman who assigns jobs and manages the farm. Actually, the chairman is selected by the Communist Party.

   b) Farmers work in gangs at different kinds of jobs. At the end of the year (or now at the end of the month) profits of the collective are shared among members according to the number of work days each has spent working on the collective's land. However, work days are figured on the basis of types of work. People working the same number of actual hours may earn differing numbers of work days. Until recently, farmers were usually paid in kind or products raised as well as in money.

there is any rational basis for determining which kinds of work merit a longer number of work days? (If necessary, read descriptions of examples of how work days are allotted.) Tell pupils about limits on size of private plots. Why might farmers work such plots? Can you think of any problems which might arise on collectives when farmers have these plots?

121-123;
Bergson, Ec.
ing, pp. 18

22. Have a pupil pretend that he was a Russian peasant (a Rip Van Winkle) who was a member of a Mir who fell asleep in 1890 and woke up on a collective farm in the 1950's or today. He should write about the similarities and changes that he sees in a modern-day Rip Van Winkle story.

s any rational basis for determining which kinds merit a longer number of work days? (If neces- ead descriptions of examples of how work days are l.) Tell pupils about limits on size of private Why might farmers work such plots? Can you think problems which might arise on collectives when have these plots?

121-123; Bergson, Ec. of Sov. Planning, pp. 180-181.

pupil pretend that he was a Russian peasant (a Rip kle) who was a member of a Mir who fell asleep in d woke up on a collective farm in the 1950's or He should write about the similarities and changes sees in a modern-day Rip Van Winkle story.

G. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

A. EVALUATES PROPOSALS AND ACTION ON THE BASIS OF THEIR EFFECTS UPON INDIVIDUALS AS HUMAN BEINGS.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

G. The unity and homogeniety of life which totalitarianism demands is contrary to the pluralism of liberal democracy.

G. Every economic system faces scarcity or a lack of enough productive resources to satisfy all human wants.

G. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

2) Stalin forced peasant
tive farms against gr
in order to achieve th
set for rapid industri

a) Many peasants oppo
tive farms and kil
and destroyed grai
government could n
The government ret
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thousands of peasa
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the peasants for t
tion. Thus the co
organized at great
the peasants.

b) Stalin hoped that
of collective farm
easier to control
lect quotas of gra
supervise the peas
needed labor to ci
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tudes toward priva

c) Stalin financed mu
trial expansion by
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government set quo
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democratic political sys-
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rast between democratic
-democratic political sys-
be looked at as a con-
basic underlying values.

2) Stalin forced peasants into collective farms against great opposition in order to achieve the goals he had set for rapid industrial expansion.

   a) Many peasants opposed the collective farms and killed livestock and destroyed grain so that the government could not seize it. The government retaliated by killing and sending to labor camps thousands of peasants and by seizing grain and livestock saved by the peasants for their own consumption. Thus the collectives were organized at great human cost among the peasants.

   b) Stalin hoped that the organization of collective farms would make it easier to control production, collect quotas of grain and livestock, supervise the peasants, and get needed labor to cities. He also worried about the peasants' attitudes toward private property.

   c) Stalin financed much of the industrial expansion by forcing farmers on collective farms to sell the government set quotas of produce at very low prices. The government sold the produce at much higher prices, thus gaining a profit which could be plowed into industrial development. (In the early years,

7. Have a pupil report on "Forced Collectivization under Stalin." He should describe peasant resistance, the treatment of those who resisted, and the effects of forced collectivization. (He might quote excerpts from the instructions on deportations in the Smolensk area as well as from the criticisms by the secret police of how the orders were carried out.) He should also discuss possible reasons for the forced collectivization.

Fainsod, Smole
viet Rule, ch.
excerpts from
portations as
cial reports c
peasant reacti
Descriptions c
ization and ef
found in Duran
chs. 16-17;
Gordon, Worker
After Lenin, c
for collectivi
discussed in N
omy, pp. 45-46
Ulam, eds., Pa
ernment, pp. 6

8. A pupil might give an oral report on "The Peasant's Burden in Soviet Society." He should make and show a graph to show how the Soviet government profited off farmers in what they paid for rye and wheat from collective farms and what they sold it for.

Or prepare a written summary of the ways in which the peasant was exploited. Have pupils read the summary and then discuss the following statement: "Stalin built

Nove, Sov. Ecc
49, 52-53, 57-
sod, Smolensk
Rule, ch. 13.
Bergson, Ec. c
ing, pp. 188-
ble quotas in
Data for the
found in Schwa

pil report on "Forced Collectivization under
He should describe peasant resistance, the
of those who resisted, and the effects of
llectivization. (He might quote excerpts from
uctions on deportations in the Smolensk area
from the criticisms by the secret police of
rders were carried out.) He should also dis-
ible reasons for the forced collectivization.

Fainsod, Smolensk Under Soviet Rule, ch. 12 (contains excerpts from orders on deportations as well as official reports of actions and peasant reactions).
Descriptions of collectivization and effects can be found in Duranty, U.S.S.R., chs. 16-17;
Gordon, Workers Before and After Lenin, ch. 21. Reasons for collectivization are discussed in Nove, Sov. Economy, pp. 45-46 and Beer and Ulam, eds., Patterns of Government, pp. 631-632.

ight give an oral report on "The Peasant's Bur-
viet Society." He should make and show a graph
ow the Soviet government profited off farmers
hey paid for rye and wheat from collective farms
they sold it for.

e a written summary of the ways in which the
as exploited. Have pupils read the summary and
uss the following statement: "Stalin built

Nove, Sov. Economy, pp. 48-49, 52-53, 57-58, and Fainsod, Smolensk Under Sov. Rule, ch. 13.
Bergson, Ec. of Sov. Planning, pp. 188-189 (on flexible quotas in good times.)
Data for the graph may be found in Schwartz, Soviet

:. Interprets graphs. (Draws inferences from graphs.)

much of the grain was
to gain needed materia
ery and technicians.)

(1) The collectives we
meet compulsory qu
took a large part
production. The g
paid for these com
liveries at very l
approximately thei
production. The c
could also sell mo
to the government
higher prices or s
could sell the res
produce on an oper
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get needed resourc
quotas for compuls
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less of weather co
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of good crops. Th
took the risks, an
ment was fairly su
certain amounts o
ducts even if the
not good.

(2) Until recently fa
meet certain quota
sory deliveries o
ucts from their p

graphs. (Draws infer-
graphs.)

much of the grain was sold abroad to gain needed materials, machinery and technicians.)

(1) The collectives were forced to meet compulsory quotas which took a large part of their total production. The government paid for these compulsory deliveries at very low rates or approximately their cost of production. The collectives could also sell more products to the government at slightly higher prices or supposedly could sell the rest of their produce on an open market at much higher prices. At times the government almost forced the collectives to sell them more goods by threats or by making it easier for them to get needed resources. The quotas for compulsory deliveries remained the same regardless of weather conditions, unless they were raised because of good crops. Thus the farmer took the risks, and the government was fairly sure of getting certain amounts of given products even if the weather was not good.

(2) Until recently farmers had to meet certain quotas or compulsory deliveries of farm products from their private plots.

heavy industry on the backs of the peasants."

Economy Since
17-18.

Tell pupils that they will find out more about what has happened to these quotas as they study changes made in collectives and state farms under Khrushchev and his successors.

ustry on the backs of the peasants."

Economy Since Stalin, pp. 17-18.

ls that they will find out more about what has
to these quotas as they study changes made in
ves and state farms under Khrushchev and his
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They had to make
liveries whether
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eggs) or not. If
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stock or raise th
grain demanded, t
buy it at high pr
open market and s
government at the
prices paid by th
Whatever the far
they could sell a
prices to be obta
open market.

G. In command economies, most of the basic economic decisions are made by the government.

3) Farmers' incomes have be
er than incomes of those
in industry.

G. People tend to work hardest at those jobs for which they receive the greatest incentives (monetary and non-monetary).

S. Looks for points of agreement and disagreement among witnesses and authors.

S. Draws inferences from tables.

G. People tend to work hardest at those jobs for which they receive the great-

4) Because farmers could ea
their private plots than
ing the collective's lan

economies, most of the nomic decisions are made vernment.

nd to work hardest at for which they receive est incentives (monetary onetary).

points of agreement and ent among witnesses and

erences from tables.

nd to work hardest at those which they receive the great-

They had to make these deliveries whether they owned the cows or chickens (for eggs) or not. If they did not own the appropriate livestock or raise the kind of grain demanded, they had to buy it at high prices on the open market and sell it to the government at the very low set prices paid by the government. Whatever the farmers had left, they could sell at the higher prices to be obtained on the open market.

3) Farmers' incomes have been much lower than incomes of those who work in industry.

4) Because farmers could earn more on their private plots than by working the collective's land, many peas-

29. Have pupils read Khrushchev's description of wages on collectives during Stalin's control. Compare with the summary of earnings described by Dr. Lazar Volin. Discuss: How did these wages compare with those of workers in cities? Why was Khrushchev worried about low wages for collective farmers?	"Selected Readi viet Society."
30. Perhaps have a mature student read and report on the imaginary account of a woman living on a collective farm in Bauer's Nine Soviet Portraits. Afterwards, discuss: Does this portrait agree with what you have already learned?	Bauer, Nine Sov pp. 24-41.
31. Have pupils examine a table showing the way in which farm produce was sold in 1958 and the prices which farmers received from different kinds of sales. Have them	"Selected Readi Soviet Society.

read Khrushchev's description of wages on uring Stalin's control. Compare with the arnings described by Dr. Lazar Volin. Dis- id these wages compare with those of workers Why was Khrushchev worried about low wages ve farmers?	"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."
a mature student read and report on the im- unt of a woman living on a collective farm ine Soviet Portraits. Afterwards, discuss: rtrait agree with what you have already	Bauer, Nine Soviet Portraits, pp. 24-41.
examine a table showing the way in which was sold in 1958 and the prices which farm- from different kinds of sales. Have them	"Selected Readings on the Soviet Society."

est incentives (monetary and non-monetary.)

C. In command economies, most of the basic economic decisions are made by the government.

G. People tend to work hardest at those jobs for which they receive the greatest incentives (monetary and non-monetary).

S. Generalizes from data.

ants began to spend litt
effort on collective wor
also worked out other wa
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decree requiring them to
many days during the yea
many days each season on
tive land.

5) Despite their small plots
produced a large share of
milk, eggs, vegetables, a
on these plots; the Sovie
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6) Farmers on state farms we
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economies, most of the
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etary).

from data.

ants began to spend little time and effort on collective work. They also worked out other ways of getting around legal requirements. Consequently the government issued a decree requiring them to work so many days during the year and so many days each season on the collective land.

5) Despite their small plots, farmers produced a large share of the cattle, milk, eggs, vegetables, and potatoes on these plots; the Soviet leaders are torn between wishing to reduce the private sector of the farm economy and their need for this production.

6) Farmers on state farms were paid in wages which they were sure to receive

figure out how much farmers got from their sale to the government and from their sales on the free market. Ask: If you had been a farmer at this time, how would this difference have affected your actions?

32. Have a pupil report on ways in which peasants got around some of the legal requirements. Then tell the class that in 1954 the Soviet leaders finally ordered collective farm managers to require each man on the collective to work 300 work days a year. Each woman in the collective was to work 200 work days a year. Ask: Why do you think this order was issued? Did it really mean only 300 or 200 days of work a year for each man or woman? Why or why not? (Review way in which work days were established)

Riha, Readings
Hist., vol 3.,
Inkeles & Geig
ciety, pp. 360

33. Have pupils study a table comparing the amount of land sown in different kinds of farm enterprises. They should then examine tables and statements showing changes in the amount of farm produce of different kinds produced by farmers on their private plots. Discuss: What relationship is there between the amount of land held and the production of meat, milk, and eggs? the production of vegetables and potatoes? How can you explain this difference in the size of holding and the output of these products? Why does this difference create a problem for the Soviet government?

"Selected Read
Soviet Society

34. Remind pupils that a small percentage of the land was held in state farms which paid workers wages. These farm-

t how much farmers got from their sale to the
t and from their sales on the free market. Ask:
d been a farmer at this time, how would this dif-
ave affected your actions?

pil report on ways in which peasants got around
he legal requirements. Then tell the class that
he Soviet leaders finally ordered collective
gers to require each man on the collective to
ork days a year. Each woman in the collective
rk 200 work days a year. Ask: Why do you think
r was issued? Did it really mean only 300 or
of work a year for each man or woman? Why or
(Review way in which work days were established)

Riha, Readings in Russian Hist., vol 3., pp. 569-73; Inkeles & Geiger, Sov. Society, pp. 360-61.

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this difference create a problem for the Soviet
t?

"Selected Readings on the Soviet Society."

pils that a small percentage of the land was
tate farms which paid workers wages. These farm-

G. People tend to work hardest at those jobs for which they receive the greatest incentives (monetary and non-monetary).

G. The organizational structure of the total economy or of any large sector of it (such as agriculture) affects efficiency of production and output, just as does the organizational structure within a single firm.

G. People tend to work hardest at those jobs for which they receive greatest incentives (monetary and non-monetary).

S. Generalizes from data.

despite the failure o
were also permitted t
plots of land on thei

7) Khrushchev and his su
many changes in the c
state farm system; in
have improved monetar

a) Machine tractor st
bolished.

b) Khrushchev changed
collections so tha
farms are paid hig
for all produce so
ernment. His succ
raised these price
clear that they wi
quotas when crops

c) Khrushchev reduced
collective farms b
many smaller ones
ger and by changin
state farms.

d) In 1965 collective
more say in what t
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of many products w
was suited to rais
or not.

e) The government has
investment in agri

end to work hardest at
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nizational structure of
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efficiency of production
ut, just as does the organ-
l structure within a single

end to work hardest at those
which they receive greatest
es (monetary and non-monetary).

zes from data.

despite the failure of crops. They were also permitted to work small plots of land on their own.

7) Khrushchev and his sucessors made many changes in the collectives and state farm system; in general, they have improved monetary rewards.

   a) Machine tractor stations were abolished.

   b) Khrushchev changed the type of collections so that collective farms are paid higher set prices for all produce sold to the government. His successors have raised these prices and made it clear that they will not increase quotas when crops are good.

   c) Khrushchev reduced the number of collective farms by combining many smaller ones under one manager and by changing some into state farms.

   d) In 1965 collective farms were given more say in what they would produce rather than being given set quotas of many products whether the area was suited to raise these products or not.

   e) The government has greatly increased investment in agricultural research ers, too, were permitted to work small plots of land on their own. Discuss: Would farmers have been better off under the collective system or the state farm system? Why?

35. Have pupils read about changes made in collectives and state farms under Khrushchev and his successors. Then discuss: To what degree do you think Khrushchev relieved the burden on the farmers? To what degree do you think his successors have relieved this burden? Why do you think they made these changes?

Mosely, Sov. Un
Khrushchev, pp.
Foreign Policy
Great Decisions
p. 54;
Schwartz, Sovie
Since Stalin, p
75, 79, 112-120
Nove, Sov. Econ
Crankshaw, Khru
174-181, 192-19

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t degree do you think Khrushchev reliev-
the farmers? To what degree do you
sors have relieved this burden? Why do
ade these changes?

Mosely, Sov. Union Since Khrushchev, pp. 15-24;
Foreign Policy Assoc., Great Decisions ... 1966, p. 54;
Schwartz, Soviet Economy Since Stalin, pp. 28-29, 75, 79, 112-120;
Nove, Sov. Economy, p. 56;
Crankshaw, Khrushchev, pp. 174-181, 192-193, 271.

G. If productive resources are fully employed, investment in capital goods for future production requires some sacrifice in current consumption.

G. People's ideas of what constitutes an adequate level of living change as average living levels change.

G. If resources are used to satisfy one want, they cannot be used to satisfy another. Only when resources are unemployed, will more expenditures on one thing lead to the production of more of something else.

S. Draws inferences from tables and charts.

and machinery i
production.

c. The lack of emphasis
ucts and the resistan
lectivization led to
living for a time; li
rising but are still
to those in the U.S.
many difficulties inv
living levels of peop
countries.

ductive resources are fully
ed, investment in capital
for future production requires
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ources are used to satisfy
nt, they cannot be used to
y another. Only when re-
s are unemployed, will more
itures on one thing lead to
oduction of more of something

inferences from tables and
.

and machinery in hopes of increas-
production.

c. The lack of emphasis upon consumer products and the resistance to forced collectivization led to lower levels of living for a time; living levels are now rising but are still very low compared to those in the U.S. However, there are many difficulties involved in comparing living levels of people in different countries.

36. Read aloud a quote from Pravda for Oct. 18, 1937: "The living conditions of the workers in Soviet Russia are incomparably better than in any capitalist state." Tell pupils they should try to decide in next few days whether this boast was justified.

37. Have a pupil prepare and show the class a chart showing conditions in 1928 in terms of sheets, beds, mattresses. Remind pupils that these conditions existed just as the first five year plan began. Discuss: If you had been a citizen of U.S.S.R., how might you have felt when the plan called for tightening consumers' belts? (Be sure to point out that how one would feel would depend in part on ideology and what one was used to in the past.)

For data, see "
Supplement to U
U.S.S.R."

38. Have a pupil read and report on John Scott's story of his work at Magnitogorsk during the 1930's. The pupil should tell the class about Scott's background and bias when he went to Russia and then describe the working and living conditions which Scott found.

Riha, ed., Read
sian Hist., vol
592.

39. Project charts showing living space in 1913, again prior to the first five-year plan, during early years of planning, and in 1940. Discuss: What had happened to the

For charts and
Sosnovy, Housi
the Soviet Uni

d a quote from Pravda for Oct. 18, 1937: "The
nditions of the workers in Soviet Russia are
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Riha, ed., Readings in Russian Hist., vol 3, pp. 574-592.

harts showing living space in 1913, again prior
rst five-year plan, during early years of plann-
in 1940. Discuss: What had happened to the

For charts and tables see Sosnovy, Housing Problem in the Soviet Union, pp. 112, G The degree of horizontal mobility within a society (including shifts of population from rural to urban areas) can have important effects upon a society.

A. SCEPTICISM OF SINGLE-FACTOR THEORIES OF CAUSATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

G. If resources are used to satisfy one want, they cannot be used to satisfy another. Only when resources are unemployed, will more expenditures on one thing lead to the production of more of something else.

S. Draws inferences from tables.

G. Centrally planned economies find it easier to divert resources to certain goals than do economies based upon a market system.

amount of space per workerduring the period of the first five-year plan? What happened before the first five-year plan began? How can you account for these changes? (Analyze investment policies as well as movement of population to cities during industrial program).

Now read aloud brief [illegible] about housing conditions in the early years of the industrialization program.

124, 131, 265,
273, 274, 276,
Gordon, Worker
After Lenin, p
For quotations
lini, How Str
pp. 93-94.

40. Have a pupil report on Norton's description of housing and housing problems during 1956-1959 when he lived in the U.S.S.R. as a news correspondent. He should compare Norton's account with that by Louis Fischer of conditions in 1957, with that by Kalb written in 1961, and with recent news accounts of housing conditions. Discuss: What progress have the Soviets made in improving housing conditions? Why haven't they improved them faster?

Perhaps show pictures of both old and new housing in the U.S.S.R.

Norton, Only i
Louis Fischer,
pp. 31-35;
Kalb and Kalb,
Again Ponders
in Schwartz, e
Faces of Commu
Also see, Thay
pp. 99-100, 10
Filmstrips: H
Life in the So
Four Cities of
S.V.E. frames

41. Now have pupils examine a series of tables comparing the production of, the sale of, or the total number in existence of a series of consumer items in both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Use data on the period just before or soon after Stalin's death, data for the early 1960's, and very recent data if possible.

Discuss: What needs to be considered in addition to actual number of these items in both countries? (Ask additional questions as needed to bring out difference in population.) What do these figures indicate about levels of living in the U.S.S.R. and in the U.S.? What do they

See "Selected
Soviet Society
data. See Nor
Russia, ch. 4
autos in the S
in the late 1
For per capit
National Indu
ence Board, R
dustry, #1555

pace per workerdiring the period of the first lan? What happened before the first five- egan? How can you account for these changes? vesiment policies as well as movement of pop- cities during industrial program). oud brief [illegible] about housing conditions y years of the industrialization program.	124, 131, 265, 267-270, 273, 274, 276, 102, 103; Gordon, Workers Before and After Lenin, pp. 183-186. For quotations, see Zavalini, How Strong is Russia? pp. 93-94.
i report on Norton's description of housing problems during 1956-1959 when he lived in , as a news correspondent. He should compare count with that by Louis Fischer of conditions that by Kalb written in 1961, and with re- ccounts of housing conditions. Discuss: What ve the Soviets made in improving housing con- hy haven't they improved them faster? w pictures of both old and new housing in the	Norton, Only in Russia, ch. 2; Louis Fischer, Russia Revisited, pp. 31-35; Kalb and Kalb, "Khrushchev Again Ponders the Consumer," in Schwartz, ed., The Many Faces of Communism, pp. 77-79. Also see, Thayer, Russia, pp. 99-100, 103-105, 108. Filmstrips: Housing and Home Life in the Sov. Union, S.V.E.; Four Cities of the Sov. Union, S.V.E. frames 27-30, 45, 59.
pils examine a series of tables comparing the of, the sale of, or the total number in exis- series of consumer items in both the U.S. and . Use data on the period just before or soon n's death, data for the early 1960's, and data if possible. hat needs to be considered in addition to ac- of these items in both countries? (Ask addi- tions as needed to bring out difference in) What do these figures indicate about levels n the U.S.S.R. and in the U.S.? What do they	See "Selected Readings on Soviet Society" for older data. See Norton, Only In Russia, ch. 4 for data on autos in the Soviet Union in the late 1950's. For per capita goods, see National Industrial Conference Board, Road Maps of Industry, #1555, Oct. 1, 1966.

S. Draws inferences from tables.

S. Uses simple statistical devices for analyzing data.

G. Levels of living are affected by the amount of goods and services money incomes can buy, not just by changes in money incomes which may be offset by changes in prices.

G. If productive resources are fully employed, investment in capital goods for future production requires some sacrifice in current production.

indicate about changes in levels of living in the Soviet Union?

Have a pupil give a report on consumers and auto buying and upkeep in the Soviet Union. He should use data for the 1950's and early 1960's and try to find also the most recent data possible.

Now discuss: What is the difficulty with comparing levels of living by selecting items such as autos and those you saw earlier such as radios, etc.? Do we have any evidence that the Soviet people either do or do not want such products? Why aren't there more autos?

Review the problem of comparing wages from one period to another and the meaning of real wages. Then have pupils study data showing changes in real wages within the Soviet Union from 1928 to 1951, shortly before Stalin's death. Then discuss: What happened to real wages in the Soviet Union during the course of the five year plans? What causal factor must be considered which has nothing to do with the Soviet economic system itself? Can the wartime destruction explain all of the drop? Why or why not?

"Selected Re-
viet Society.

Show pupils a table comparing real wages in the U.S.S.R., the U.S. and several other European countries in 1928 and in 1950. Discuss: How did the great industrial growth of the Soviet Union affect the comparative status of Soviet workers in terms of real wages during this period? How can you explain the loss in comparative real wages during a period when Soviet industry was growing so rapidly?

Now show pupils a chart showing changes in real wages from 1952 to 1963. Discuss: How much did real wages increase from 1952, the last full year under Stalin, to about changes in levels of living in the Soviet

pupil give a report on consumers and auto buy-
up... the Soviet Union. He should use
the 1920's and early 1950's and try to find al-
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"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."

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to 1953. Discuss: How much did real wages in-
om 1952, the last full year under Stalin, to

G. It is difficult to compare real wages between countries because of ... difficulties of assessing the comparative purchasing power of different monetary systems....

S. Recognizes differences in difficulty of proving statements.

S. Checks on the completeness of data.

G. Levels of living are affected by the amount of goods and services money incomes can buy....

S. Checks on the completeness of data.

G. It is difficult to compare real wages between countries because of the difference in the importance of different types of goods for consumers, because of difficulties of assessing the comparative purchasing power of different monetary systems, because of the difference in quality of goods....

1963? Have workers or peasants gained more? Does this mean that peasants are better off than Industrial workers?

43. Have pupils study a chart which shows wages in the U.S.S.R. in terms of dollars. Discuss: What problem arises when we make this comparison?

"Selected Rea
viet Society.

44. Show pupils a chart indicating the cost in dollars of certain consumer goods in the U.S.S.R. in 1958. Discuss: How do these prices compare with those in the U.S. today when our prices are higher than they were in 1958? What is the problem involved in making this kind of comparison when we are trying to compare living levels?

Stavrianos, G
of Man, p. 3

45. Have a pupil make two graphs to show the proportion of the monthly wage which a trolley conductor in Kiev would pay out of her monthly income to eat just one egg a day or to eat just 1 pound of the cheapest black bread a day after the wage increase of 1956.

I. Fischer,
visited, p.

orkers or peasants gained more? Does this sants are better off than Industrial workers?	
tudy a chart which shows wages in the U.S.S.R. ollars. Discuss: What problem arises when comparison?	"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."
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make two graphs to show the proportion of the which a trolley conductor in Kiev would pay nthly income to eat just one egg a day or to und of the cheapest black bread a day after ease of 1956.	I. Fischer, Russia Revisited, p. 103.

S. Checks on completeness of data.

S. Recognizes and examines assumptions to decide whether he can accept them.

A. VALUES OBJECTIVITY AND DESIRES TO KEEP HIS VALUES FROM AFFECTING HIS INTERPRETATION OF EVIDENCE.

G. It is difficult to compare real wages between countries because of differences in the importance of different types of goods for consumers, because of difficulties in assessing the comparative purchasing power of different monetary systems, because of difficulties of estimating cost of living (because of different prices for similar goods), because of the difference in quality of goods, because of differences in the amount of socialized benefits provided by the different countries, etc.

46. Have pupils examine tables comparing the work time needed by the average worker to purchase common items of consumer goods in the Soviet Union and in the U.S. First, have them compare the time in 1947. They should then compare this data with that in table 2 on data for 1960. What changes have taken place in the comparative levels of living? Are they further apart or closer together? Now have pupils compare the data for 1960 with that in table 3 for 1961 and the data for 1966 with that for 1961. What has happened to living levels according to this data?

Discuss: What is the danger of accepting such comparisons of living level without considering other factors? (Have pupils compare the time needed to earn the same items in the U.S. in 1960 and 1961. What has happened? Are all of the figures different? Do those that differ differ in the same direction? Now have pupils look at government figures for cost of living index in 1960 and 1961. Do these figures bear out this apparent drop in prices? What other factor than prices must be considered in making these estimates? (earnings) Also discuss: Suppose you were going to make this comparison. How would you decide what price to list for a pair of men's shoes? For a woman's rayon street dress? (Help pupils see the problem of setting an average price in this country.) Would the problem have been as great in the U.S.S.R. in 1960? Why not? What other problems besides price differences in this country would make it difficult to figure out the average length of time needed to earn the cost of a man's wool suit? (Ask further questions as needed to bring out problems of differing quality and the need to estimate an average wage in order to make this estimate.) Would these same problems be more or less difficult in trying to make such comparisons between countries? Why? What other problems might arise in trying to make such comparisons? (Discuss the problem of selecting items which are equally

"Selected Rea
Society."
Nat'l. Indust
Board, Road M
#1555, Oct. 1

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average worker to purchase common items of con-
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s might arise in trying to make such comparisons?
s the problem of selecting items which are equally

"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."
Nat'l. Industrial Conference Board, *Road Maps of Industry*, #1555, Oct. 1, 1966.

S. Looks for points of agreement and disagreement among witnesses and authors and other sources of information.

important to consumers of both countries. Use examples to illustrate that some items could be used to present a biased picture. For example, he could compare the cost of items which are imports in one country and used only rarely in that country but used commonly in another country. (e.g. What difference would it make whether one included rice or white bread when comparing living levels in the U.S. and a rice-eating country?) Also point out other ways in which the selection of items could be important. Point out that housing costs are not included. Now give pupils a comparison of the percentage of income spent on housing in the U.S.S.R. as compared to that in the U.S. (e.g. in 1959 roughly 4.5% in the U.S.S.R. because of the government's policy to keep rents low). Ask: Suppose you used rent as one item in such a list. Would this give an accurate picture of comparative living levels? Why or why not?

47. Have several pupils prepare a report on the social services and social security measures which are provided by the government. He should cite examples of medical care and sickness earnings and days of vacations. Discuss: Why do such services make it difficult to compare real wages in the U.S. and in the U.S.S.R.? How do such services compare with those provided workers in this country in addition to their wages? (e.g. compare retirement insurance, medical care, etc.)

Hendel, Sov.
551, 553, 55
Norton, Only
99-107.
Mandel, Russ
ch. 8; Fitzs
U.S.S.R., pp
Brumberg, Ru
shchev, pp.
Many Faces o
Florinsky, e
Russia, and t
pp. 519-522.

48. Have a pupil read and report on the imaginary account of the housewife in Bauer's Nine Soviet Protraits. Discuss: How does this account compare with what you have read elsewhere about living conditions and consumer goods? (Make sure that pupils understand the time period depicted.)

Bauer, Nine
pp. 76-90.

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strate that some items could be used to present
d picture. For example, he could compare the cost
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Hendel, Sov. Crucible, pp. 551, 553, 555; Norton, Only in Russia, pp. 99-107. Mandel, Russia Re-examined, ch. 8; Fitzsimmons, et. al., U.S.S.R., pp. 288-298; Brumberg, Russia Under Khrushchev, pp. 571-590. Schwartz, Many Faces of Communism, ch.11. Florinsky, ed., Encycl. of Russia,and the Sov. Union, pp. 519-522.

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Bauer, Nine Soviet Portraits, pp. 76-90.

A. VALUES OBJECTIVITY AND DESIRES TO KEEP HIS VALUES FROM AFFECTING HIS INTERPRETATION OF EVIDENCE.

S. Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.

G. People tend to work harder at the jobs for which they receive the greatest incentives (monetary and non-monetary.)

S. Detects inconsistencies.

G. No nation lives up to its ideology completely.

G. No nation lives up to its ideology completely.

G. People tend to work harder at the jobs for which they receive the greatest incentives (monetary and non-monetary).

G. In practice economic incentives in Communist countries do not differ

4. Stalin gave up the idea of eq
all and substituted monetary
Indeed, there are greater dif
between workers than in the U
based largely upon the amount
rather than upon the number o
Moreover, certain groups of w
given benefits, such as more
Monetary incentives are accom
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countries do not differ

4. Stalin gave up the idea of equal pay for all and substituted monetary incentives. Indeed, there are greater differentials between workers than in the U.S. Pay is based largely upon the amount produced rather than upon the number of hours worked. Moreover, certain groups of workers are given benefits, such as more housing space. Monetary incentives are accompanied by awards and propaganda campaigns to spur production.

Tell pupils that Soviets have claimed to have abolished unemployment which is such a threat in capitalist societies. Now have a pupil report briefly on the small amount of unemployment which has developed at times in the Soviet Union. He should explain the reasons for such unemployment. Discuss: Is such unemployment likely to increase as the Soviet economic system matures? Why or why not?	Nove, Sov. Econom Bergson, Economic Planning, pp. 105
50. Review Marx's statement about how people would be rewarded under communism and under socialism and Lenin's statement about how people would be rewarded immediately in the Soviet state. Also review Marxist ideas about development of new attitudes toward work which would grow up if means of production were owned in common. Tell pupils to try to decide during next few days whether or not the principle "to each according to his need" was carried out under Stalin and his successors and whether or not Soviet workers have learned this new attitude toward work which was predicted.	"Teacher's Supple Unit on the U.S.S
51. Have pupils examine several charts showing ranges in monthly salaries for different kinds of jobs. Discuss: What do these figures show about equality of wages in Soviet Russia?	"Selected Readings viet Society;" Mehlinger, Commun Theory and Practi
52. Quote Stalin on the need for different wage scales. Describe the use of piece-work scales. Why did the Soviets establish such a system?	"Teacher's Supple Unit on the U.S.S

hat Soviets have claimed to have abolished which is such a threat in capitalist socie- ave a pupil report briefly on the small a- nployment which has developed at times in the . He should explain the reasons for such un- Discuss: Is such unemployment likely to in- Soviet economic system matures? Why or why	Nove, Sov. Economy, p. 235. Bergson, Economics of Sov. Planning, pp. 105-106.
statement about how people would be reward- unism and under socialism and Lenin's state- w people would be rewarded immediately in tate. Also review Marxist ideas about devel- attitudes toward work which would grow up production were owned in common. Tell pupils cide during next few days whether or not the each according to his need" was carried out and his successors and whether or not Soviet learned this new attitude toward work which d.	"Teacher's Supplement to the Unit on the U.S.S.R."
xamine several charts showing ranges in ies for different kinds of jobs. Discuss: figures show about equality of wages in n?	"Selected Readings on Soviet Society;" Mehlinger, Communism in Theory and Practice, p. 34.
on the need for different wage scales. De- e of piece-work scales. Why did the Soviets h a system?	"Teacher's Supplement to the Unit on the U.S.S.R."

greatly from those in mature capitalist countries.

... EVALUATES PROPOSALS, EVENTS, AND PROGRAMS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR EFFECTS UPON INDIVIDUALS AS HUMAN BEINGS.

G. Industrial conflict does not occur in all societies; it does not occur in a dictatorship which uses force to suppress internal conflict.

G. The unity and homogeniety of life which totalitarianism demands is contrary to the pluralism of liberal democracy.

G. Since democracy is the chief political expectation of the times, oligarchy has had to accept the symbols and forms of democracy, if not its substance.

5. The Soviet leaders have ma
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coercion to place the work
of the government.

a. Labor unions lost their
over wages and hours. T
some control over worke
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security and other soci
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pectation of the times, oli-
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forms of democracy, if not
stance.

5. The Soviet leaders have made labor unions an arm of the government and have used coercion to place the workers at the mercy of the government.

   a. Labor unions lost their right to bargain over wages and hours. They maintained some control over workers by becoming the dispensing agency for many social security and other socialized benefits. They were also given the job of persuading workers to work harder to meet quotas. Under Khrushchev, the labor unions were given slightly more power, but they are still not a free bargaining agency.

Now have a pupil report on the Stakhanovite movement, how some workers achieved these high rates of productivity, how they were rewarded, and the effect on pay scales and work quotas for other workers. Discuss: How do you think the workers who were not Stakhanovites reacted? How was this movement used by the Soviet government to get more out of the worker?	Zavalani, Ho Russia?, pp. Jacobs, Mask pp. 84-85.
53. Have a pupil prepare a brief written summary for class use on the pay and privileges of scientists. Discuss: How would these provisions affect science in the Soviet Union?	Norton, Only pp. 122-125.
54. Have several pupils role-play a discussion between American and Soviet labor leaders on the role of labor unions in Soviet society.	McClosky and Dict., pp. 5 Swearingen, ism, pp. 88- Gordon, Work After Lenin, Inkeles and Sov. Society Schwartz, So Since Stalin Loucks, Comp tems, pp. 49

a pupil report on the Stakhanovite movement, workers achieved these high rates of productiv- they were rewarded, and the effect on pay scales quotas for other workers. How do you think the workers who were not Stak- reacted? How was this movement used by the So- rnment to get more out of the worker?	Zavalani, How Strong Is Russia?, pp. 64-70; Jacobs, Masks of Communism, pp. 84-85.
pil prepare a brief written summary for class e pay and privileges of scientists. Discuss: these provisions affect science in the Soviet	Norton, Only in Russia, pp. 122-125.
ral pupils role-play a discussion between Ameri- oviet labor leaders on the role of labor unions society.	McClosky and Turner, Sov. Dict., pp. 523-528; Swearingen, World of Communism, pp. 88-90; Gordon, Workers Before and After Lenin, chs. 12-16; Inkeles and Geiger, eds., Sov. Society, pp. 386-388; Schwartz, Soviet Economy Since Stalin, pp. 102-104; Loucks, Comp. Economic Systems, pp. 495-498.

G. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

S. Generalizes from data.

G. In all societies people have certain economic goals. Although some goals are very much alike, different societies place differing emphasis upon them.

G. People differ in the degree to which they desire economic justice or a reduction in inequalities of economic opportunity or income.

G. People differ in the degree to which they desire freedom of economic choice

b. Labor laws under Stalin p
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workers from moving from
another without permissio
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b. Labor laws under Stalin penalized workers who were tardy or late, prevented workers from moving from one job to another without permission, greatly increased hours of work and the norms to be met to receive certain wages, forced some people to work in certain industries or locations, etc. Some of these restrictions have been removed, but university graduates must still work wherever needed for a certain number of years.

55. Have pupils consider the books they read earlier about the Soviet Union when they were studying the government of the country. What did these books report about the techniques used to get more work out of workers? Do they support the statement that the government used a "carrot and stick" technique to provide incentives for more work? Now remind pupils of the laws they read. What did these laws illustrate about the Soviet system of incentives?

For a discussion
tives, see Campb
Ec. Power, pp. 1

56. Have a pupil report on changes in labor laws after World War II and particularly after Stalin's death. He should include such topics as laws related to wages, hours of work, labor books, right to leave employment, tardiness, etc.

Hendel, Sov. Cr
556-558;
Loucks, Compara
Systems, pp. 50
Florinsky, ed.,
Russia and the
p. 607.

57. Ask: What was the overall goal of Marxism? Do you think the Soviet state has made advances in achieving this goal for workers? Do you think the welfare of the workers has been the uppermost goal in the minds of Soviet leaders? How have the economic goals of the Soviet leaders seemed to compare with those of the American people? To what extent have these goals been shared by the Soviet people?

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Union when they were studying the government
ntry. What did these books report about the
used to get more work out of workers? Do
rt the statement that the government used a
d stick" technique to provide incentives for
Now remind pupils of the laws they read.
hese laws illustrate about the Soviet system
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For a discussion of incentives, see Campbell, Sov. Ec. Power, pp. 119-122.

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Hendel, Sov. Crucible, pp. 556-558;
Loucks, Comparative Ec. Systems, pp. 503-504;
Florinsky, ed., Encycl. of Russia and the Sov. Union, p. 607.

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the economic goals of the Soviet leaders seemed
e with those of the American people? To what
ve these goals been shared by the Soviet people?

(of occupation and disposal of income) as a goal of their economic system.

G. People usually would like to see their economic system provide both economic growth (and so higher levels of living) and stability (and so economic security); however the emphasis on each goal may differ.

G. People tend to work hardest at those jobs for which they receive the greatest incentives (monetary and non-monetary).

G. In practice economic incentives in communist countries do not differ greatly from those in capitalist countries.

G. Even in a centrally-planned economy, economic planners cannot make all of the decisions as to all of the details of what, how much, and how things shall be produced.

6. Managers of industrial pla
been provided with both m
tives and threats to bring
with plans for their facto
Attempts to evaluate perfo
gers has led to a number o

   a. Until 1964 bonuses for
   ly emphasized reaching
   total production goals
   of other goals such as
   of products and quality
   production.

   b. Ways in which quotas we
   managers' decisions; th
   were not always for the
   economy as a whole. (e.
   of nails was measured b
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a centrally-planned econ-
nomic planners cannot
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he details of what, how
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6. Managers of industrial plants have also been provided with both monetary incentives and threats to bring about compliance with plans for their factories and mines. Attempts to evaluate performance of managers has led to a number of problems.
   a. Until 1964 bonuses for managers usually emphasized reaching or surpassing total production goals at the expense of other goals such as balanced variety of products and quality, and costs of production.
   b. Ways in which quotas were set affected managers' decisions; these decisions were not always for the good of the economy as a whole. (e.g. If production of nails was measured by the ton, many large nails were produced and too few small nails were produced. If production of nails was set by number, too few larger nails were produced.)

58. Tell the class that they are now going to study how factory managers operated during most of the period of Bolshevik control. Have pupils pretend that they are Russian factory managers. Explain the kinds of quotas which they are supposed to fulfill. Have them pretend that they are producing dresses, nails, etc. and have them decide what they would do under differing methods of measuring success indicators and under different bonus systems for meeting or surpassing different quotas.

Read aloud or give pupils written examples of actual situations as described by Soviet leaders and factor managers and Soviet newspapers.

Nove, *Soviet Ec*
Berliner, *Facto*
the U.S.S.R., c
Inkeles and Gei
Society, pp. 36
from Berliner);
Ec. Power, pp.

class that they are now going to study how
nagers operated during most of the period of
control. Have pupils pretend that they are
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e what they would do under differing methods
ng success indicators and under different
ems for meeting or surpassing different quotas.

or give pupils written examples of actual sit-
described by Soviet leaders and factor mana-
oviet newspapers.

Nove, *Soviet Economy*, ch. 6; Berliner, *Factory Manager in the U.S.S.R.*, chs. 6-12; Inkeles and Geiger, eds., *Sov. Society*, pp. 365-381 (excerpt from Berliner); Campbell, *Sov. Ec. Power*, pp. 130-133.

G. Both centralized and decentralized economic planning have advantages and disadvantages in terms of the rational use of resources to achieve the major goals of planning for an entire economy.

G. Economic output is affected by the quality of labor or labor skills as well as by the quantity of labor.

G. The quality of labor is usually increased by education and training.

G. People tend to work hardest at those jobs for which they receive the greatest incentives (monetary and non-monetary).

S. Looks for points of agreement and disagreement among witnesses, authors, and other sources of information.

G. Every economic system faces scarcity or a lack of enough productive resources to satisfy all human wants.

59. Remind pupils that managers were rewarded for years for overfulfilling production goals. Have them examine a table showing examples of uneven fulfillment of a plan. Discuss: What problems might arise from such uneven fulfillment of plans? Now cite examples of some kinds of problems and then tell pupils about the 1960 decree which made it illegal to overfulfill quotas for about 1000 types of products.

"Selected
Soviet Soc
Supplement
Soviet Unic

60. Read aloud quotations illustrating some of the problems of poor quality in the early years of the plans. What other examples have pupils read? Discuss: What factors might account for this quality?

Zavalani,
sia?, pp.

61. Now have pupils read criticisms of quality by Soviet leaders, consumers and Soviet press. Perhaps show Soviet cartoons attacking quality of housing, etc. including some of those shown earlier. Ask: Do Soviet sources bear out or dispute the criticisms of quality made by foreigners?

"Selected
viet Socie
Readings i
pp. 379-38
Economy, p
kinds of c
cartoons,
What's so
11, 36, 40

62. Ask: Do you think Soviet leaders would pay as much attention to quality in consumer industries as in industries producing military supplies and producers' goods? Why or why not? Now have pupils read

Stavrianos
World Hist

pupils that managers were rewarded for years for filling production goals. Have them examine a howing examples of uneven fulfiliment of a plan. : What problems might arise from such uneven ment of plans? Now cite examples of some kinds lems and then tell pupils about the 1960 decree made it illegal to overfulfill quotas for about ypes of products.	"Selected Readings on the Soviet Society;" "Teacher's Supplement to the Unit on the Soviet Union."
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o you think Soviet leaders would pay as much at- to quality in consumer industries as in indus- roducing military supplies and producers' goods? why not? Now have pupils read	Stavrianos, Readings in World History, pp. 371-374.

G. People tend to work hardest at those jobs for which they receive the greatest incentives (monetary or non-monetary).

G. Even in a centrally planned economy, economic planners cannot plan all of the details of what, how much, and how things shall be produced.

S. Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.

G. The lack of a free market system makes it difficult to evaluate the efficiency of managers of plants.

G. Compromise is easier where there is not an ideological perception of the issues.

G. Both centralization and decentralization of planning have advantages and disadvantages in terms of the rational use of resources to achieve the major goals for an entire economy.

c. The monthly quotas and
among managers has led
more attention to immed
less to longterm benefi
reason, they may not in
saving devices or innov
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production.

d. The market could not be
performance of managers
the government set pric
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meet quotas only by the
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goals for an entire econ-

c. The monthly quotas and high turnover among managers has led managers to pay more attention to immediate needs and less to longterm benefits. For this reason, they may not introduce labor saving devices or innovations since these devices may slow down immediate production.

d. The market could not be used to measure performance of managers and plants since the government set prices on materials and finished products in an arbitrary manner. Moreover, it called for planned losses in some plants since it set up prices in terms of average costs. For a long time, Marxian ideology about value stood in the way of setting up a less arbitrary system of measuring costs and profits.

e. Managers have frequently been able to meet quotas only by the use of personal influence and illegal measures of procurement of materials. The Soviet government tries to prevent illegal means by various kinds of checks, but many the article by an American entitled "Soviet Efficiency: Myth or Fact?" which describes the uneveness of efficiency. Ask: Does this author support or contradict your guess?

63. Have pupils imagine once more that they are managers. Suggest that they should act the way our auto factories do at times and close down temporarily to retool for new styles or improvements in the product. Or they should close down in order to install new machinery which would eventually save a great deal of labor. How would they behave?

Nove, Soviet Ec
168-171.

Cite examples of the slow adoption of some new techniques because of the types of quotas used.

64. Discuss: How do boards of directors of corporations evaluate work of managers in this country? In the light of what you know about how prices are set in the U.S.S.R., why would it be difficult to use profits made by a factory to evaluate the work of its manager? Tell pupils something about arguments raised among Soviet economists in recent years about the desirability of change. Ask: How has Marxian ideology made a change difficult?

See Juviler and
Sov. Policy-Mak
73; Nove, Sov.
pp. 220-224.

65. Have two pupils assume the roles of Soviet factory managers. They should discuss their problems of getting needed materials of the right quality and quantity and of meeting quotas. (They should use concrete examples to make their point.) Then they should swear each other to secrecy and give each other pointers on how they have tried to solve their problems.

Nove, Sov. Econ
35, 37-38; Berl
Manager in the
Campbell, Sov,
pp. 122-134; Me
munism in Theor
pp. 60-63; Brum

le by an American entitled "Soviet Efficiency:
ct?" which describes the uneveness of effic-
k: Does this author support or contradict
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se down in order to install new machinery
d eventually save a great deal of labor. How
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Nove, Soviet Economy, pp. 161,
168-171.

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See Juviler and Morton,
Sov. Policy-Making, pp. 71-
73; Nove, Sov. Economy,
pp. 220-224.

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Nove, Sov. Economy, pp. 32-
35, 37-38; Berliner, Factory
Manager in the U.S.S.R.;
Campbell, Sov. Ec. Power,
pp. 122-134; Mehlinger, Com-
munism in Theory and Practice,
pp. 60-63; Brumberg, Russia

G. People tend to work hardest at those jobs for which they receive the greatest incentives (monetary and non-monetary).

G. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

A. EVALUATES PROPOSALS, ACTIONS AND PROGRAMS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR EFFECTS UPON INDIVIDUALS AS HUMAN BEINGS.

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their interest to have t
meet production quotas.

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superiors overlook it because it is to their interest to have those below them meet production quotas.

f. Managers during Stalin's day could be punished by death or long prison terms for not fulfilling quotas; they could be charged with sabotage. Today, they are not likely to be so punished, but they do have a high turnover rate on the job. Their jobs are less secure than those of industrial managers in the U.S.

g. As a result of the bonus system, managers have been paid very well in comparison with workers. They are among the Soviet elite and have non-monetary compensations as well as monetary benefits.

Or a pupil might give an oral report on "Soviet Blat: The Role of Influence and Illegal Means in the Economic System."

Under Khrushche
Hochstein, "Sov
omy."

66. Discuss: Suppose you were a bureaucrat above the manager and discovered he was using illegal measures or not being honest about quota plans. What incentive might you have for letting him get away with it? Suppose you were a local communist charged with watching the plant director and seeing that the plant meets its quota. What incentive might you have for overlooking illegal measures? Now have a pupil explain how the Soviet government tries to get around such collusion.

Campbell, Sov.
pp. 123-127.

67. Remind pupils of books which they read earlier about arrests. Ask: What threats hung over the heads of managers? Why do you think they still took illegal measures to meet quotas?

68. Have a pupil read and report on the imaginary account of the factory director in Bauer's Nine Soviet Portraits. Have another pupil who has read either the Red Executive or Factory Manager in the U.S.S.R. comment on the accuracy of Bauer's account and add other things he has learned about the problems and incentives of a factory manager.

Bauer, Nine Sov
pp. 106-121; Gr
Red Executive;
tory Manager in
chs. 6-12.

might give an oral report on "Soviet Bla f Influence and Illegal Means in the Economic	Under Khrushchev, pp. 155-175; Hochstein, "Sov. Shadow Economy."
Suppose you were a bureaucrat above the [illegible] iscovered he was using illegal measures or honest about [illegible] plans. What incentive have for letting him get away with it? Suppre a local communist charged with watching director and seeing that the plant meets its at incentive might you have for overlooking sures? Now have a pupil explain how the ernment tries to get around such collusion.	Campbell, Sov. Ec. Power, pp. 123-127.
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G. The more industrialized and urbanized the society, the greater the vertical mobility between classes.

G. The more widespread the system of education, the greater the mobility between classes.

G. In practice, individual economic incentives in communist countries do not differ greatly from those in mature capitalist economies.

G. As economic systems become more mature and complex, centralized planning becomes more difficult....

G. Even in a centrally planned economy, economic planners cannot make all of the decisions as to all of the details of what, how much, and how things shall be produced.

G. Misallocation of resources costs consumers what they could otherwise have had.

G. Most economic systems are in the process of constant change.

h. Thus managers in the U.S
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managers. Neither group
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onomic systems are in the
of constant change.

h. Thus managers in the U.S.S.R. are driven by monetary advantages just as are U.S. managers. Neither group is likely to be working for private profit but rather for greater monetary rewards. However, the methods of providing awards differ and the methods of evaluating performance differ. These differences affect the kinds of decisions which managers make in the two economic systems.

i. Managers until very recently were producing in a producers' market: the demand had been so great that all goods were taken. With greater production, consumers and other plants have become more choosy. Attention is now being given to experiments with methods of making managers pay more attention to desires of consumers.

69. Have a panel discuss similarities and differences between plant managers in U.S. and in U.S.S.R. They should focus upon social origin, education, kind of training, motives and job security. Discuss: What factors in the Soviet system seem to affect vertical mobility between classes? Why?

Inekels and
Sov. Society
Granick, Red
Berliner, Fa
in the U.S.S

70. Discuss: Since consumers can spend their money on any consumer goods they wish to that they can find in the stores, why have they purchased products which were of poor quality or which did not suit their tastes? How has the role of the consumer differed in the U.S.S.R. and in the U.S. in affecting decisions about what should be produced?

Show pupils the cartoon in Wilcox on consumers and choice. Discuss: Do you think this man's comment really indicates the view of Soviet people toward their role in selecting consumers' goods?

Wilcox, Econ
World Today,

71. Have pupils read quotations about the recent problem of unsold consumer goods in stores. How does this indicate a change in levels of living? Why do consumers refuse to buy goods? Remind pupils of the excerpt they read from New Russia's Primer on the absurdities and overproduction arising in our unplanned economy. Ask: Why hasn't planning been able to prevent this problem in the U.S.S.R. in recent years while few goods remained unsold in earlier years of planning?

"Selected Re
Society;"
Schwartz, Re
181-192.

discuss similarities and differences be-
managers in U.S. and in U.S.S.R. They
upon social origin, education, kind of
tives and job security. Discuss: What
he Soviet system seem to affect vertical
tween classes? Why?

Inekels and Geiger, eds., Sov. Society, pp. 361-365; Granick, Red Executive; Berliner, Factory Manager in the U.S.S.R.

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scuss: Do you think this man's comment
cates the view of Soviet people toward their
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Wilcox, Economies of the World Today, p. 48.

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rs while few goods remained unsold in earlier
lanning?

"Selected Readings on Soviet Society;" Schwartz, Red Phoenix, pp. 181-192.

G. Changes in one aspect of a culture will have effects on other aspects; changes will ramify, whether they are technological, in social organization, in ideology, or whatever else is a part of the cultural system.

G. Although culture is always changing, certain parts or elements may persist over long periods of time.

G. People do not change their behavior unless they feel a need to change.

G. Compromise is easier where there is not an ideological perception of the issues.

G. The power to allocate resources is important to the power to control what and how much will be produced.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

7. The Communist Party control system.

   a. The leaders control the dustry and collective fa several ways.

      1) Most of these men are Party and the Party c veillance measures to line.

      2) The Party controls th crees which determine monetary incentives w

n one aspect of a culture
effects on other aspects;
ill ramify, whether they
ological, in social organ-
in ideology, or whatever
part of the cultural sys-

culture is always changing,
arts or elements may per-
long periods of time.

not change their behavior
ey feel a need to change.

e is easier where there is
eological perception of the

to allocate resources is
to the power to control
how much will be produced.

ianisms extend the scope
cs far beyond the usual to
lmost all aspects of life.

7. The Communist Party controls the economic system.
    a. The leaders control the managers of industry and collective farm chairmen in several ways.
        1) Most of these men are members of the Party and the Party carries out surveillance measures to keep them in line.
        2) The Party controls the government decrees which determine the punitive and monetary incentives which are offered.

Now have all pupils read about recent experiments in tying factory production to store requests for goods in order to make consumer choice have more effect upon production of certain kinds of goods such as clothing. They should also read about the way in which the experiments and type of control have been extended to more plants producing both consumer and producer's goods and to the ways in which managers have been given more power over making decisions about wages, etc.

Then discuss: Why was there so much opposition to these changes even when it was obvious that the older system did not result in the kind of product mix needed to satisfy consumer demands and even the needs of factories for tools and materials? (Relate the delay to the role of ideology.) Also discuss: Where would you now place the Soviet Union on a continuum between a market and a command economy? What problems may this new role of the managers create for central planning of overall production and allotment of resources?

Mosely, Sov.
Khrushchev, p
Schwartz, Sov
Since Stalin,
186; "Are Sov
Road to Capit
New & World R
1964; "New Tr
Creeping Capi
News & World
28, 1964; Juv
Soviet Policy
80; "Soviets
Profit," Busi
20, 1965, pp.

72. Ask: What do you remember about the chart you saw on party membership among factory directors? (If necessary show it again.) How else does the Communist Party control factory directors?

all pupils read about recent experiments in ty-
ory production to store requests for goods in
make consumer choice have more effect upon pro-
of certain kinds of goods such as clothing. They
lso read about the way in which the experiments
of control have been extended to more plants
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mbership among factory directors? (If necessary
again.) How else does the Communist Party con-
tory directors?

Mosely, Sov. Union Since Khrushchev, pp. 31-34; Schwartz, Soviet Economy Since Stalin, pp. 142-143, 186; "Are Soviets on the Road to Capitalism?" U.S. New & World Report, July 27, 1964; "New Trend in Russia: Creeping Capitalism," U.S. News & World Report, Sept. 28, 1964; Juviler and Morton, Soviet Policy-Making, pp. 76-80; "Soviets Set a Style for Profit," Business Week, March 20, 1965, pp. 104-106.

G. No country lives up to its ideology completely.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

G. In command economies most of the basic economic decisions are made by the government.

b. At times interference by
with agriculture or indus
to difficulties. Moreove
have not had the kinds of
needed to make useful pla
ture in all sections of t

G. It is easier for a totalitarian system to make drastic changes rapidly than it is for a democratic system to do so.

c. Whatever the pros and co
decrees, Communist leade
quick action to bring ch

lives up to its ideol-
tely.

anisms extend the scope
s far beyond the usual
almost all aspects of

economies most of the
omic decisions are made
ernment.

ier for a totalitarian
make drastic changes
ian it is for a democratic
do so.

b. At times interference by party leaders with agriculture or industry has led to difficulties. Moreover, planners have not had the kinds of information needed to make useful plans for agriculture in all sections of the country.

c. Whatever the pros and cons of specific decrees, Communist leaders can take quick action to bring changes.

73. Show pupils a table on the party status of collective farm chairmen. Now tell pupils about the times the party sent urban communists out to be chairmen. Discuss: What do you think the effects might have been? Why? Why is it important that the chairmen are usually communists? What do these incidents show about the reality of elections of chairmen by collective members?	For table, s Readings on For examples Econ. of Sov pp. 208-209.
74. Point out that other communist workers in a region frequently interfered with production of collectives. Cite examples and quote Mosely on Khrushchev's interference.	Inkeles and Sov. Society Mosely, Sov. Khrushchev,
75. A mature pupil might read a Soviet novel which deals with collective farms and illustrates some of the problems arising from interference by party members.	Adramov, One "New Life."
76. A pupil might report on Belov's account of his life as a chairman of a collective farm and the problems which he had with the party secretary.	Belov, Hist. Collective F from Belov c Riha, ed., R sian Hist., 49.
77. Have a pupil describe the process by which the Machine Tractor Stations were abolished, the speed with which the action was taken, and the problems related to ideology involved in this move.	Loucks, Com tems, pp. 4 Schwartz, So Stalin, pp.

ls a table on the party status of collective rmen. Now tell pupils about the times the par- rban communists out to be chairmen. Discuss: ou think the effects might have been? Why? important that the chairmen are usually com- What do these incidents show about the real- ections of chairmen by collective members?	For table, see "Selected Readings on Sov. Society." For examples, see Bergson, Econ. of Sov. Planning, pp. 208-209.
that other communist workers in a region fre- nterfered with production of collectives. Cite nd quote Mosely on Khrushchev's interference.	Inkeles and Geiger, eds., Sov. Society, p. 333. Mosely, Sov. Union Since Khrushchev, pp. 16-17.
pupil might read a Soviet novel which deals ective farms and illustrates some of the prob- ing from interference by party members.	Adramov, One Day in the "New Life."
might report on Belov's account of his life as n of a collective farm and the problems which th the party secretary.	Belov, Hist. of a Soviet Collective Farm; excerpts from Belov can be found in Riha, ed., Readings in Russian Hist., vol. 3, pp. 525-49.
pil describe the process by which the Machine tations were abolished, the speed with which n was taken, and the problems related to ideol- ved in this move.	Loucks, Comparative Ec. Systems, pp. 460-66; Schwartz, Sov. Econ. Since Stalin, pp. 37-91.

S. Uses simple statistical devices for analyzing data.

S. Checks on completeness of data.

S. Identifies card-stacking.

A. EVALUATES SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

S. Interprets graphs. (Draws inferences from graphs. Looks for graphic devices which may be misleading.)

S. Checks on the completeness of data. (Rejects post hoc arguments; looks for other factors which may have caused the later event.)

3. The Communists have been
tremendous economic growt
production.

a. The Soviet growth rate
of the U.S. by a wide
much of the 1950's, bu
in 1958. This rapid g
vides a challenge to i
the Soviets could even
and surpass the U.S. p
growth rate greatly ex
period of years.

imple statistical devices
nalyzing data.

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fies card-stacking.

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p hypotheses.

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from graphs. Looks for graphic
s which may be misleading.)

on the completeness of data.
ts post hoc arguments; looks
her factors which may have
the later event.)

3. The Communists have been able to achieve tremendous economic growth in industrial production.

   a. The Soviet growth rate exceeded that of the U.S. by a wide margin during much of the 1950's, but it slowed down in 1958. This rapid growth rate provides a challenge to the U.S., since the Soviets could eventually overtake and surpass the U.S. production if its growth rate greatly exceeded ours for a period of years.

Tell pupils the timetable for the shift from centralization to regional controls over industry under Khrushchev. Discuss: What advantages and disadvantages can you see in a system in which such action can be taken so quickly by the leaders?

78. Review with pupils the meaning of GNP and how it is figured in the U.S. Why would this figure be useful in comparing economic systems? Now ask pupils what would happen to this comparison if the statisticians were to use different criteria in estimating GNP. (Use examples which Soviets have used.)

For a discuss
statistics, s
Sov. E. Grow

79. If some pupil in class is highly interested in mathematics and statistics, he might read varying analyses of the problems of interpreting Soviet statistics. He should explain some of them to the class.

Inkeles and G
Sov. Society,
or Hendel, So
pp. 466-480.

80. If the school owns the set of Fenton Wallbank transparencies, on Russian Economic Growth, project transparency A showing growth rates in Russia and the U.S.S.R. from 1870 to 1960, with the breakdown between industrial and agricultural growth rates after 1913.

Fenton-Wallba
tory Transpar
sian Economic
[illegible] Co.

Discuss: How can you account for the possible drop in both agricultural and industrial rates from 1913 to the early 1920's? What may account for the great difference in growth rates in industry and agriculture from 1928 to 1940? Why do you think agricultural rates may have lagged so far behind industrial growth ever since 1928? Some people have argued that Russia would have become an industrial power with a rapid economic growth rate even if the Bolshevists had not seized control. Does this chart provide any data which might support that claim?

ils the timetable for the shift from centraliza-
regional controls over industry under Khrushchev.
What advantages and disadvantages can you see
tem in which such action can be taken so quickly
eaders?

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the U.S. Why would this figure be useful in com-
conomic system? Now ask pupils what would hap-
his comparison if the statisticians were to use
t criteria in estimating GNP. (Use examples
viets have used.)

For a discussion of Soviet statistics, see Campbell, Sov. E. Growth, pp. 34-47.

pupil in class is highly interested in mathemat-
statistics, he might read varying analyses of
lems of interpreting Soviet statistics. He
xplain some of them to the class.

Inkeles and Geiger, eds., Sov. Society, pp. 302-307 or Hendel, Sov. Crucible, pp. 466-480.

hool owns the set of Fenton Wallbank transpar-
on Russian Economic Growth, project transparency
g growth-rates in Russia and the U.S.S.R. from
1960, with the breakdown between industrial and
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20's? What may account for the great difference
n rates in industry and agriculture from 1928
Why do you think agricultural rates may have
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trial power with a rapid economic growth rate
the Bolshevists had not seized control. Does
t provide any data which might support that

Fenton-Wallbank World History Transparencies on Russian Economic Growth, Scott Foresman Co.

A. EVALUATES INFORMATION.

G. The larger the productive capacity in relationship to the population, the less the hardship involved to consumers in making the savings (and investments) needed to achieve a given growth rate.

S. Draws inferences from tables.

Now place transparency B over transparency A. Let pupils check on the time of certain events which might provide some check on their earlier guesses. However, remind pupils that one thing does not necessarily cause another just because it comes before it. What other evidence have they come across which is not indicated on this graph but which might have caused some of the changes?

81. Have pupils look once again at the tables on growth rates which they studied during the introduction to the entire unit on the U.S.S.R. Have them note once more the rapid growth rate of the early fifties and the slowing down of the growth rate in the U.S.S.R. in the late fifties and early sixties. Have them also note the changes in the growth rate in the U.S. Ask: Can you think of any reasons for the greater average growth rate for the U.S.S.R.? For the slowdown?

"Teacher's S
the Unit on

82. Have pupils try to think of any arguments they have heard about the unimportance of a faster growth rate for the U.S.S.R. If they can't think of any tell them the argument that the U.S.S.R. would never catch up anyway because the smaller growth rate in the U.S. would mean so much larger an actual production. Have pupils analyze this argument. Then tell pupils the argument that it is much easier to make a large growth rate when a country starts from a much lower level of production. Therefore, the U.S. does not need to be worried. Have pupils analyze this argument.

Teacher refe
ity: Campbe
Power, pp. 5

83. Now project graphs which compare Soviet and U.S. production of steel and electricity from 1913 to 1960. Discuss: How much progress has the U.S.S.R. made in catching up with the U.S. in these two fields?

Stavrianos,
Man, p. 339
Crucible, p.

e transparency B over transparency A. Let
heck on the time of certain events which might
ome check on their earlier guesses. However,
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"Teacher's Supplement to the Unit on the U.S.S.R."

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does not need to be worried. Have pupils ana-
s argument.

Teacher reference for activity: Campbell, Sov. Ec. Power, pp. 53-55.

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steel and electricity from 1913 to 1960. Discuss:
progress has the U.S.S.R. made in catching up
U.S. in these two fields?

Stavrianos, Global History of Man, p. 339 or Hendel, Sov. Crucible, p. 464.

A. RESPECTS EVIDENCE EVEN WHEN IT CONTRADICTS PREJUDICES AND PRECONCEPTIONS.

S. Uses simple statistical devices for analyzing data.

S. Draws inferences from graphs.

G. At any specific time, the total economic output is affected by the quantity and quality of productive resources (natural resources, labor, and capital goods), by the levels of technology and by the efficiency of the organizational structures.

b. The rapid growth rate wa
by a number of factors.

1) The Soviet Union had
base for industrial
though its agricultu
have made agricultura
difficult.

2) The Soviet Union had
of surplus farm labo
moved to industries
work where capital w

EVIDENCE EVEN WHEN IT CON-
PREJUDICES AND PRECONCEP-

ple statistical devices
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ferences from graphs.

pecific time, the total
output is affected by
tity and quality of pro-
resources (natural re-
labor, and capital goods),
evels of technology and by
ciency of the organization-
tures.

b. The rapid growth rate was made possible by a number of factors.

   1) The Soviet Union had a rich resource base for industrial development, although its agricultural resources have made agricultural development difficult.

   2) The Soviet Union had a vast reservoir of surplus farm laborers who could be moved to industries and who could do work where capital was scarce.

84. Now project transparency E from the Fenton-Wallbank series on Russian Economic Growth. (Cover the right-hand half.) Make sure that pupils understand what the GNP was in 1960 and what each of the green lines on the graph shows. Now place transparency D on top of transparency E, again covering the right-hand half. Have pupils note how soon the Soviet Union could catch up with the U.S. GNP at differing growth rates in the U.S. and in the U.S.S.R. Also ask: Is it inevitable that the Soviet Union will catch up with the U.S.? What must the U.S. do if it does not want this to happen?

Fenton-Wallba
Transparencie
Econoraic Grow
Foresman Co.

If your school system does not have these transparencies, show pupils the table in Campbell which shows how fast the Soviet Union could overtake the U.S. given different growth rates in the two countries.

Campbell, Soc
p. 195. (Tab
Hendel, Sov.

85. Have pupils review what they learned in earlier courses and the unit on Western Europe about the factors affecting economic growth. Then ask: What did we learn about the Soviet resource base as a potential for industrial growth?

For teacher's
activity, se
Sov. Union,

Think back to what you learned earlier about the problems facing peasants in Tsarist Russia after the serfs were freed. Would any of these problems have given the Bolshevists a potential source of strength when they decided to industrialize rapidly? (Try to ask additional questions as needed to help pupils understand how the surplus labor in rural areas could be moved to industry without necessarily reducing farm output, other things being equal.) Also ask: What problems would plant managers have faced in using this labor, however?

ect transparency E from the Fenton-Wallbank ser-
ussian Economic Growth. (Cover the right-hand
Make sure that pupils understand what the GNP was
and what each of the green lines on the graph
Now place transparency D on top of transparency
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Also ask: Is it inevitable that the Soviet
ll catch up with the U.S.? What must the U.S.
does not want this to happen?

Fenton-Wallbank World History Transparencies on Russian Economic Growth , Scott, Foresman Co.

chool system does not have these transparencies,
ls the table in Campbell which shows how fast
et Union could overtake the U.S. given differ-
h rates in the two countries.

Campbell, Soc. Ec. Power, p. 195. (Table reprinted in Hendel, Sov. Crucible, p.544.)

ils review what they learned in earlier courses
unit on Western Europe about the factors affect-
omic growth. Then ask: What did we learn
e Soviet resource base as a potential for in-
growth?

For teacher's reference for activity, see Holt & Turner, Sov. Union, pp. 66-73.

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ing peasants in Tsarist Russia after the serfs
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hevists a potential source of strength when
ided to industrialize rapidly? (Try to ask
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the surplus labor in rural areas could be moved
try without necessarily reducing farm output,
ngs being equal.) Also ask: What problems
ant managers have faced in using this labor,

G. Capital formation through saving is a major means of increasing an economy's total output over time because it increases productive capacity.

G. Centrally-planned economies find it easier to divert resources to certain goals than do governments in economies based upon a market system.

A. VALUES OBJECTIVITY AND DESIRES TO KEEP HIS VALUES FROM AFFECTING HIS INTERPRETATION OF EVIDENCE.

G. Culture may change through a process of diffusion.

G. The organizational structure of the total economy (or any large sector of it (such as agriculture affects efficiency or production and output, just as does the organizational structure within a single firm.

G. Capital formation through saving is a major means of increasing an econ-

3) The government had th
force consumer saving
invest in the large-s
dustry needed for fut

4) The U.S.S.R. could bo
know-how and technici
countries.

5) A country which is bu
factories should be a
ate the most up-to-da
this equipment should
try one advantage ove
industries have been

c. The growth rate during t
and 1960's slowed down f
reasons.

1) The agricultural sec
omy failed to achieve

2) The increased investm
spending reduced the
ments available in ot

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y-planned economies find
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TATION OF EVIDENCE.

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nizational structure of
economy (or any large
it (such as agriculture
fficiency or production
t, just as does the organ-
structure within a single

ormation through saving is
eans of increasing an econ-

3) The government had the power to force consumer savings in order to invest in the large-scale heavy industry needed for future growth.

4) The U.S.S.R. could borrow technical know-how and technicians from other countries.

5) A country which is building many new factories should be able to incorporate the most up-to-date equipment; this equipment should give the country one advantage over countries whose industries have been built in the past.

c. The growth rate during the late 1950's and 1960's slowed down for a number of reasons.

1) The agricultural sector of the economy failed to achieve production goals.

2) The increased investments in military spending reduced the amount of investments available in other industries.

Now show pupils the Fenton-Wallbank transparency D again, uncovering the right-hand side. How has the Soviet Union divided its resources between investment and consumption? Superimpose transparency E and have pupils compare the U.S. allocation. Discuss: What do these graphs show about the willingness of the Soviet leaders as against the American people to forego present consumption in order to invest for future growth? How easy would it be for the U.S. government to bring about a great increase in investment rates and a sharp upturn in the growth rate? How might it try to bring about greater investment and economic growth?

Fenton-Wallb
Transparency
nomic Growth
Co.

Discuss: What advantages did the U.S.S.R. have when it began its campaign to increase industrial production which Britain did not have when it began its industrial revolution? (Be sure to discuss the advantages to be obtained from borrowing technical help and training from abroad.) Also discuss: What advantages should the new Soviet factories have over older factories which were built in other countries many years earlier?

87. Have two pupils present a mock interview between a reporter and a Soviet economic planner or one of the present leaders of the Soviet Union on the reasons for the slowdown in the rate of economic growth in the late 50's and early 60's.
Discuss: U.S. economic growth increased greatly in World War II when we began to spend for military ends. Why did military expenditures in U.S.S.R. in late 1950's and 1960's slow down the growth rate?

Schwartz, *So*
Stalin, ch.

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Fenton-Wallbank World History Transparency on Russian Economic Growth, Scott, Foresman Co.

What advantages did the U.S.S.R. have when it
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s.

Schwartz, Sov. Econ. Since Stalin, ch. 5 and pp. 44-45.

U.S. economic growth increased greatly in World
we began to spend for military ends. Why did
expenditures in U.S.S.R. in late 1950's and
ow down the growth rate?

omy's total output over time because it increases productive capacity.

G. If resources are used to satisfy one want, they cannot be used to satisfy another. Only when resources are unemployed, will more expenditures on one thing lead to the production of more of something else.

G. Output can be increased by technological progress in the development of tools and machines and power to replace manpower.

G. The quality of labor and an economy's output are usually increased by education and training.

G. The larger the productive capacity in relationship to the population, the less the hardship involved to consumers in making the savings (and investments) needed to achieve a given growth rate.

A. IS SCEPTICAL OF SINGLE-FACTOR THEORIES OF CAUSATION.

G. Differences in productivity and in

3) The Soviet leaders
duce the latest tec
in many new plants,
hesitated to innov

d. The Soviet government
of the advantages it
now has some advantage
not have before, such a
of skilled workers and
cians, scientists, an
has also a larger capa
ing both more producers
consumers' goods.

9. An evaluation of the Sovie
nomic systems shows that t
ahead in some things and t
ahead in others.

total output over time be-
it increases productive
ity.

sources are used to satisfy
ant, they cannot be used to
fy another. Only when re-
es are unemployed, will more
ditures on one thing lead to
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ess the hardship involved to
mers in making the savings
investments) needed to achieve
en growth rate.

PTICAL OF SINGLE-FACTOR
IES OF CAUSATION.

ences in productivity and in

3) The Soviet leaders failed to introduce the latest technology possible in many new plants, and managers hesitated to innovate.

d. The Soviet government no longer has all of the advantages it once had, but it now has some advantages which it did not have before, such as a large group of skilled workers and trained technicians, scientists, and managers. It has also a larger capacity for producing both more producers' goods and more consumers' goods.

9. An evaluation of the Soviet and U.S. economic systems shows that the Soviets are ahead in some things and the Americans ahead in others.

2p

88. Have pupils read excerpts from Boretsky's report to Congress on comparative technological developments in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. Discuss: Why do you think technological innovation in new plants in the U.S.S.R. slowed down after 1940?

Also discuss: Do the Soviets still have the other advantages which they once had which allowed them to make rapid growth? Do they have any advantages today which they did not have in the early period of the five year plans? Do they have any disadvantages today which they did not have then?

"Selected Re
Society."

89. Have a panel discussion on the question: How Efficient is the Soviet Economic System as Compared with the U.S. Economic System? The panel should project graphs to illustrate their arguments. Discuss: Are these differ-

Campbell, S
Ch. 4 and p

upils read excerpts from Boretsky's report to Con- on comparative technological developments in the R. and the U.S. Discuss: Why do you think tech- cal innovation in new plants in the U.S.S.R. slowed fter 1940?	"Selected Readings on Soviet Society."
iscuss: Do the Soviets still have the other advan- which they once had which allowed them to make rap- wth? Do they have any advantages today which they t have in the early period of the five year plans? y have any disadvantages today which they did not hen?	
panel discussion on the question: How Efficient Soviet Economic System as Compared with the U.S. ic System? The panel should project graphs to il- te their argumerts. Discuss: Are these differ-	Campbell, Sov. Ec. Power, Ch. 4 and pp. 99-113.

levels of living may result from differences in the stage of development rather than in the type of economic system per se.

G. Labor productivity may rise both from the activities of workers themselves and from the accumulation of capital and technological and managerial advance.

G. The rational use of resources calls for the use of more of those resources in large supply as a substitute for those in short supply, even if a different balance might increase output per man hour.

G. The lack of techniques for measuring the value of capital makes it difficult to determine the most efficient use of capital investment in achieving goals and to decide when it is cheaper or more economical to build new factories or buy new machines rather than to repair old ones.

G. Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political and economic system, the answers they give to ambiguous situations and the cues for responses they suggest.

a. Several measures of pro
be used to measure effi
economic system. Neith
ahead on all of those m
deed, one industry may
measure while another in
same country may rank
the U.S. is ahead on mo
tivity.

b. The Soviets tend to fa
of the devices for mov
maintaining quality con
These devices for impro
are not the result of
tem as such, but rathe
foregoing investment or
ments where excess manp
used in favor of other
ment.

c. The Marxian beliefs ab
their reluctance to co
rates for the use of c
capped attempts by pla
decisions about the mo
of available capital f
and about when replace
and plants would be mo
repairing old machines

of living may result from
ences in the stage of devel-
rather than in the type of
ic system per se.

productivity may rise both
he activities of workers
lves and from the accumula-
f capital and technological
nagerial advance.

tional use of resources calls
e use of more of those re-
s in large supply as a substi-
or those in short supply, even
ifferent balance might increase
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ck of techniques for measur-
e value of capital makes it
ult to determine the most ef-
t use of capital investment
ieving goals and to decide when
cheaper or more economical to
new factories or buy new mach-
ather than to repair old ones.

gies are important for the
ure they give to the political
onomic system, the answers
ive to ambiguous situations
e cues for responses they sug-

a. Several measures of productivity can be used to measure efficiency of an economic system. Neither country is ahead on all of these measures. Indeed, one industry may rank high on one measure while another industry in the same country may rank low. Overall, the U.S. is ahead on measures of productivity.

b. The Soviets tend to fall behind on some of the devices for moving goods and for maintaining quality control within plants. These devices for improving efficiency are not the result of the economic system as such, but rather the result of foregoing investment on those improvements where excess manpower could be used in favor of other types of investment.

c. The Marxian beliefs about value and their reluctance to consider interest rates for the use of capital have handicapped attempts by planners in making decisions about the most efficient use of available capital for new investment and about when replacements of machinery and plants would be more efficient than repairing old machines and plants.

ences due to basic differences in the system or to the fact that the U.S.S.R. had a slower start? (Or have smaller groups or individuals discuss different measures of efficiency. See a-b below.)

a. Several pupils might report on productivity measures as ways of comparing the efficiency of these two systems. Discuss: Are these differences due to any basic difference in the two systems?

Campbell, S
ch. 4.

b. A pupil might report on problems facing managers in the movement of goods within factories. How does the Soviet factory compare in efficiency on this measure with the U.S.? Why is there this difference?

Campbell, S
ch. 4.

The same pupil should also tell the class about problems facing industrial managers in quality control as compared to those facing American managers. What technological advantages do Americans have? Why haven't Soviets adopted these techniques? Is there any reason to expect them to continue to use present methods rather than these techniques in the future?

90. Ask pupils what they remember about the Marxian theory of value. What place would Marxists have for interest on capital? Now ask pupils to try to think of ways in which the Soviet refusal to consider interest rates for use of capital investments has hampered Soviet planners and managers of individual factories.

For teacher
Campbell, S
pp. 101-106
Schwartz, S
Stalin, pp.

If pupils can't think of ways, have someone interview an American businessman to find out how he uses interest rates to help him plan investments and plan for building new plants or for buying new machines to replace obsolete ones. The pupils should report to the class. Then discuss the problems facing Soviet planners and managers who

es due to basic differences in the system or to
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r groups or individuals discuss different measures
iciency. See a-b below.)

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Campbell, *Sov. Ec. Power*, ch. 4.

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capital investments has hampered Soviet planners
nagers of individual factories.

For teacher's reference, see Campbell, *Sov. Ec. Power*, pp. 101-106; Schwartz, *Sov. Economy Since Stalin*, pp. 95-97.

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rican businessman to find out how he uses interest
to help him plan investments and plan for building
ants or for buying new machines to replace obsolete
The pupils should report to the class. Then dis-
he problems facing Soviet planners and managers who

G. Compromise is easier where there is not an ideological perception of the issues.

G. Centrally-planned economies find it easier to divert resources to certain goals than do governments in economies based on a market system.

G. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

S. Generalizes from data.

S. Identifies card-stacking.

A. IS SCEPTICAL OF CONVENTIONAL TRUTHS AND DEMANDS THAT WIDELY-HELD AND POPULAR NOTIONS BE JUDGED IN ACCORDANCE WITH STANDARDS OF EMPIRICAL VALIDATION.

G. Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political and economic systems, the answers they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for responses they suggest.

G. No nation lives up completely to its ideology.

d. The Soviet system of gov
of investment makes eas
savings and investment a
economic growth.

e. Thus far, the American s
ahead in providing the s
tion to meet demands of
specific types of goods.

f. The growth rate makes i
Soviet economic system
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10. The Soviet economic system
evaluated in terms of how
achieved Soviet short-rang
growth and long-term goals
communism rather than what
call a socialist economy.

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they give to ambiguous
ns, and the cues for re-
they suggest.

n lives up completely to
logy.

d. The Soviet system of government control of investment makes easier heavy forced savings and investment and so rapid economic growth.

e. Thus far, the American system has been ahead in providing the shifts in production to meet demands of consumers for specific types of goods.

f. The growth rate makes it clear that the Soviet economic system is viable, despite some of its problems.

10. The Soviet economic system can also be evaluated in terms of how closely it has achieved Soviet short-range goals of rapid growth and long-term goals of achieving communism rather than what the Soviets now call a socialist economy.

operate without interest rates. Also tell the class about some recent discussions about interest rates among Soviet economists.

91. Say: We have been studying other aspects of the Soviet economic system which we must also consider in evaluating the two economic systems. Review what pupils have learned about the comparative ease of creating big investments in order to promote rapid economic growth. Then also ask: Which system makes it easier to satisfy demands of consumers for specific types of consumer goods? Why?

92. Have pupils prepare a sheet listing the strengths and weaknesses of the Soviet economic system. Remind pupils that they should compare their list with the actual strengths and weaknesses of the U.S. system rather than comparing the actual conditions in the Soviet Union with the ideal description in the U.S.

93. Discuss: How many of the Marxian communist goals in the economic area have been achieved thus far? How much progress has been made toward achieving them? Khrushchev promised that a communist society would be achieved soon, that the U.S.S.R. was in a transition stage between socialism and communism. (Read some quotations from Khrushchev at this point.) Ask: Do you think his prediction will prove true? Why or why not? If not, why do you think he made this promise? How well has the Soviet economic system attained the short-range goal of rapid growth?

"Teacher's S
Unit on the

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"Teacher's Supplement to
Unit on the U.S.S.R."

G. Most political communication depends on the use of symbols, positive and negative stereotypes, and other communication shortcuts; effective communication depends on effective manipulation of these symbolic tools.

A. RESPECTS EVIDENCE EVEN WHEN IT CONTRADICTS PREJUDICES AND PRECONCEPTIONS.

G. Although culture is always changing, certain parts or elements may persist over long periods of time.

G. People do not change their behavior unless they feel a need for change.

G. The type of leader chosen differs in different situations.

G. Most economic systems are in the process of constant change.

G. Changes in one aspect of a culture will have effects on other aspects.

11. The Soviet economic syste
can be expected to continu
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broad outlines of the sys
changes may also affect t
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nd negative stereotypes, and
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economic systems are in the
s of constant change.

s in one aspect of a culture
ave effects on other aspects.

11. The Soviet economic system has changed and can be expected to continue to change. However, the people seem satisfied with the broad outlines of the system. Economic changes may also affect the political system.

94. Have a pupil pretend that he was a Russian worker who fell asleep in 1913 (or 1890) and wakes up today. He should write a modern Rip Van Winkle story on the similarities and differences he sees in urban life and in industry.

95. Have a pupil summarize the Harvard Center findings on the attitudes of Russian refugees of an earlier period toward their jobs, working and living conditions, public ownership of the means of production, and the welfare activities of the state. Remind pupils of the date of the study. What changes if any might they expect to find today? Should the U.S. expect economic dissatisfaction to lead to revolt against the Soviet government?

Inkeles and
Citizen, ch
46.

96. Discuss: What economic group might be most likely to push for looser controls over the economic system (or at least over decisions of those operating farms and industry)? Why? To what degree is this group represented in the present government? Why would the Soviet government be in difficulties if it were to purge as many of this group today as it did in the 1930's? How have economic changes affected the political system?
Quote Ulam on these effects.

Beer and U
terns of G
638, 642,

pupil pretend that he was a Russian worker who fell
in 1913 (or 1890) and wakes up today. He should write
rn Rip Van Winkle story on the similarities and dif-
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Inkeles and Bauer, Soviet Citizen, ch. 5 and pp. 233-46.

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30's? How have economic changes affected the politi-
stem?
-Ulam on these effects.

Beer and Ulam, eds., Patterns of Government, pp. 638, 642, or 646.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

S. Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations.

G. Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political, economic and social system, the answers they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues for responses they suggest.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

G. All the institutions in a society are related; because of this interrelationship, a change in one institution is likely to affect other institutions. (Changes in the family are reflected in other institutions and changes in other institutions are reflected in the family.)

G. Family structure may make change difficult.

C. The Soviet government exte
over all aspects of the so

1. As was seen earlier, th
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and has used education
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2. The Soviet government h
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flected in other institutions
anges in other institutions
flected in the family.)

structure may make change
ult.

C. The Soviet government extends its control over all aspects of the social system.

1. As was seen earlier, the government has interfered with churches in the Soviet Union and has used education as a tool for maintaining control.

2. The Soviet government has adopted differing policies toward the family and has brought about a number of changes in the family and the role of women since Tsarist days.

   a. At first the government followed Marxia ideas about the family and made divorce very easy to obtain. The new Soviet government felt changes were so importan that they issued decrees on the family almost immediately when they seized pow in 1917. The early Soviet government wished to weaken the strength of the family as a possible force for conservatism and opposition to the new regime.

   b. Later, the Soviet government shifted its policies and made divorce more difficult once more. The changes were brought about in part because of a great decline in the birth rate &rising juvenile delinquency. The leaders wished to make the family more responsible for providing appropriate socialization into norms of so

1. Review with pupils the meaning of the term totalitarianism. Point out that so far they have seen how the government controls the economic as well as the political system. As they studied the political system, they also learned ways in which the government extended its control over other social institutions in order to maintain its power. Ask: What institutions were these? How did the government use them? How does the government control over these institutions compare with government control over similar institutions in this country?

2. Remind pupils of Marx's comments about the family in _The Communist Manifesto_. Now read a quotation from Lenin showing his attitude. Ask: What kinds of family laws do you think the Soviets might have passed when they first came to power?

"Teacher's Sup
on the U.S.S.R

3. Have a pupil give a report on "The Soviet Family." He should describe the early family laws, reasons for them, later changes, and some of the reasons for the changes and the shift toward easier divorce once more in recent years. He should also describe ways in which the present-day family differs from families in Tsarist Russia.

   Discuss: How does the Soviet family compare with families in the U.S.? How has the Soviet government tried to control the family for its own aims?

Fairly diffic
useful source
and Geiger, e
pp. 530-540;
formation of
pp. 447-459.
Also fairly d
useful refere
cent changes
Morton, eds.,
Making, pp. 5
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erences inclu
et.al., _The U_
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pp. 124-127;
Sov. Citizens

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.S.? How has the Soviet government tried to con-
family for its own aims?

Fairly difficult though very
useful sources are: Inkeles
and Geiger, eds., Sov. Socie
pp. 530-540; Black, ed., Tra
formation of Russian Society
pp. 447-459.
Also fairly difficult but a
useful reference on very re-
cent changes is Juviler and
Morton, eds., Soviet Policy-
Making, pp. 51-53. Other us
ful but fairly difficult ref
erences include, Fitzsimmons
et.al., The U.S.S.R., ch. 4
and pp. 69-73; Bauer, et.al.
How the Soviet System Works,
pp. 124-127; Inkeles and Bau
Sov. Citizens, chs. 8-9;

G. Families in different cultures have different functions. Family functions may vary over time and from group to group within a society.

G. The structure of the family varies from society to society and from one group to another within any society.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

G. Totalitarianisms may seek to alter the content of the arts to use them for the propogandistic and symbolic purposes of the totalitarian political system.

ciety. However, the g
provided for more gove
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found in this country.

c. Family life is influen
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d. The family in the Sov
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e. The Soviet government
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system.

ciety. However, the government still provided for more government controlled agencies for socialization than are found in this country.

c. Family life is influenced greatly by Soviet policies concerning work, wages, education, nurseries, youth activities, activities for parents, etc., as well as by direct legislation related to families.

d. The family in the Soviet Union is less variable, smaller, less under the domination of the father, and has fewer functions than did the families in Tsariat Russia.

e. The Soviet government has brought about a drastic change in the role of women.

Mace and Ma
Less difficu
clude Norton
pp. 76-86;
You Were Bor
pp. 16-17,
Focus, ch.
World of Com
124; Schles
Communism,
Fischer, Re

4. Read aloud a Soviet love poem which illustrates how the Soviets tried to make love subordinate to the purposes of the state. Then read aloud parts of a love poem which was attacked because it was too moody and so provided negative influences on youth. Read excerpts from this attack. Discuss: What do these illustrations suggest about the attitude of the Soviet government toward love and the family?

Inkeles and
Soviet Soc.
at bottom o
(poem in co
(attacks on

5. Tell pupils about the Soviet boast that they have raised women to a position of equality with men. Ask: Have

Mehlinger,
and Practic

Mace and Mace, Soviet Family. Less difficult readings include Norton, Only in Russia, pp. 76-86; Goodfriend, If You Were Born in Russia, pp. 16-17, 107-111; Berman, Focus, ch. 4; Swearingen, World of Communism, pp. 123-124; Schlesinger, and Blustain Communism, pp. 16-69; M. Fischer, Reunion in Moscow.

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the attitude of the Soviet government toward love
e family?

Inkeles and Geiger, eds., Soviet Soc., pp. 542 (poem at bottom of col 1.), p. 543 (poem in column 2), p. 544 (attacks on second poem).

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to a position of equality with men. Ask: Have

Mehlinger, Communism in Theor and Practice, pp. 111-117;

G. Ideologies are important for the structure they give to the political, economic and social systems, the answers they give to ambiguous situations, and the cues to responses they suggest.

G. No country lives up completely to its ideology.

3. The Soviet Union has bee
about complete complianc
behavior it has tried tc
the crimeless society wl
to develop. Neverthele
establishing this ideal
behavior of many youths.
viet government decries
its own actions have prc
to them.

logies are important for the cture they give to the polit-, economic and social systems, answers they give to ambiguous ations, and the cues to respons- hey suggest.

ountry lives up completely to ideology.

3. The Soviet Union has been unable to bring about complete compliance with the ideal behavior it has tried to achieve or with the crimeless society which Marxists expect to develop. Nevertheless, the propaganda establishing this ideal has affected the behavior of many youths. Although the Soviet government decries the crime rates, its own actions have probably contributed to them.

you found any evidence to support or contradict this boast?

Now have a pupil report on "The Role of Women in Soviet Society." The pupil should discuss changes in the woman's role since Tsarist days, the proportion of women in certain occupations, including heavy physical labor, the reasons for so many working at such hard labor, and changes taking place today. (Be sure to relate role to the population sex ratio.)

M. Fischer,
ch. 10; Mand
amined, ch.
Readings in
pp. 394-98;
Encycl. of R
Union, pp.
Filmstrips:
ication in t
S.V.E., fram
ture in the
frames 5, 20

Have pupils read a description of the ideal behavior of youth as indicated by Soviet leaders and press. Or read aloud such a description. Discuss: How is the ideal affected by Marxian ideology? by the interests of those who rule the U.S.S.R.? How does it compare with the ideal behavior suggested by American leaders and press? Do all American youth live up to the ideal for American youth? Would you expect all Soviet youth to live up to the ideal held up to them?

Holt and Tu
pp. 168-71;
formation of
pp. 625-36.

7. Now have a group of students role-play a group of Soviet youth who are close friends and willing to speak their minds to each other. They should discuss a speech which they have just heard about the ideal Soviet youth or Soviety man and how well they think Soviet youth as a group live up to this ideal.

Or have a student pretend he is a reporter from the U.S. sending home a news account of how well Soviet youth live up to this ideal. Or he might pretend to be a Soviet leader writing an article or speech criticizing Soviet

Holt and Tu
ch. 7; Salis
ch. 7; Schwa
of Communism

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S. Checks on bias and competency of authors.

G. No country lives up completely to its ideology.

A. SCEPTICISM OF SINGLE-FACTOR THEORIES OF CAUSATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND EQUAL SCEPTICISM OF PANACEAS.

youth who do not live up to the ideal. Ditto the students' article and have the class read and discuss it.

8. Ask. What is the Marxian explanation of crime? If one were a good Marxist, what would one expect to have happen to the crime and juvenile delinquency rate in the Soviet Union after capitalism was abolished? Why would one expect youth to live up to the ideal set up for them?

Have a group of students present a panel on Crime and Juvenile Delinquency in the Soviet Union. Be sure pupils compare descriptions by foreigners and descriptions found in the Soviet press or in speeches by Soviet leaders. Do Soviet sources agree or disagree with foreign comments on the subject? Discuss the bias and competency of foreign sources. What indication can be found in Soviet decrees since Stalin's death that Soviet leaders are concerned about delinquency and crime? Discuss: How successful do you think the Soviets have been in developing a society in which behavior conforms to the ideal behavior which Marx expected would develop during the stage after capitalism was overthrown? to the ideal behavior established by Soviet leaders?

Swearer and
Contemporary
152-153, 156
Communism in
tice, pp. 12
New Russia,
and Geiger,
626-29; Lips
eds., Sociol
of a Decade,

9. Have a pupil review the causes of crime as seen by American criminologists for American delinquency and crime. He should be sure to discuss the view that one factor is the disregard by parents for some laws which they think unimportant, and the effect of this behavior upon their children's attitudes toward law. Now discuss: What factors brought about by actions of the Soviet government may have contributed to the delinquency rates in the Soviet Union?

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icle and have the class read and discuss it.

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or established by Soviet leaders?

Swearer and Longacker, eds., Contemporary Communism, pp. 152-153, 156-157; Mehlinger, Communism in Theory and Practice, pp. 121-129; Salisbury, New Russia, ch. 2; Inkeles and Geiger, Sov. Society, pp. 626-29; Lipset and Smelser, eds., Sociology, The Progress of a Decade, pp. 571-80.

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attitudes toward law. Now discuss: What factors
t about by actions of the Soviet government may have
buted to the delinquency rates in the Soviet Union?

S. Generalizes from data.

G. Social scientists set up classifications to suit their purposes; the use of different criteria result in different classifications.

4. By its policies toward wages
wards for work, the Soviet go
brought about a new alignment
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4. By its policies toward wages and other rewards for work, the Soviet government has brought about a new alignment of social classes.

   a. The U.S.S.R. is a highly stratified society rather than the classless society which Marx predicted would come under socialism.

      1) Social scientists classify people differently depending upon the criteria which they use.

         a) They may try to classify people on the basis of sociological criteria such as size of income, type of housing, place of work, etc. Some social scientists group classes in Soviet Russia as workers, peasants, and intelligentsia. Another group of social scientists have paid more attention to income, occupation, and possession of power and authority to group and rank the Soviet people into ten classes: ruling elite, superior intelligentsia, general intelligentsia, working class aristocracy, white collar; well-to-do peasants, average workers, average peasants, disadvantaged workers, and forced labor.

         b) They may try to classify people in terms of psychological criteria or on the basis of classes to which people *feel* they belong.

10. Ask: What did Marx say would happen to classes in the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat? What did he think would have to happen before the stage of communism could be reached? From what you have studied so far, do you think this goal has been achieved under the Soviet government? What actions of the government have contributed to the development of classes? How do these classes differ from those in Tsarist Russia?

11. Read aloud or show people several different systems for classifying people according to classes. Why do they differ? (Note importance of criteria used. Review what pupils have learned earlier about bases for classifying people by classes.)

Now have pupils look at several classifications of the people of the U.S.S.R. Which criteria seem to have been used in each? Which classification do pupils find most helpful?

e.g. See Ho
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What did Marx say would happen to classes in the
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elpful?

e.g. See Holt in background
paper to this unit. See
Inkeles and Geiger, eds.,
Soviet Society, p. 560.

G. Whenever things valued by a society are scarce, there will be differentiated access to and control of these valued and scarce things by sub-groups within the society.

G. Class membership has certain effects on life and behavior; that is, it carries with it certain class correlates.

G. Control of one or a few scarce things may enable the group to get control of other scarce things and thus pyramid their control or power.

G. Societies differ in the relative number of ascribed and achieved stratuses they provide and the relative emphasis upon each.

G. The amount of class conflict is related to the degree of difference among classes, the degree of vertical mobility possible, and the degree to which propaganda is used to arouse class conflict.

G. Industrialization usually leads to greater vertical mobility.

G. The more widespread the system of education the greater the vertical mobility.

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2) Regardless of how social scientists classify people, in the Soviet Union, it is obvious that there are great differences whether measured by sociological criteria or by the degree of class consciousness among the people.

b. Despite stratification there is little class conflict although there is some hostility between classes.

1) Studies have shown a certain limited degree of hostility between classes.

2) The lack of serious class conflict results in part from the high degree of vertical mobility and from the Marxia ideology which makes it important to play down the idea of class conflict in this stage of society.

12. Have a group of students present a panel discussion on "Are there real differences between classes in Soviet Russia?" Afterwards, discuss: What does the evidence show about the accuracy of Marx's predictions about what would happen to classes? How does the class system in the Soviet Union compare with that in Tsarist Russia?	Schwartz, Red 29 (on situat Thayer, Russi Schwartz, Man nism, ch. 13 "The Elite of June 16, 1961
Review the meaning of vertical mobility. Discuss: From what you have read so far, do you think there is little or a great deal of vertical mobility in the Soviet Union. How does the mobility compare with that in Tsarist Russia? In the U.S.? What factors have promoted mobility?	A reference be found in Sov. Society
Would you expect more or less class conflict in a society with high vertical mobility? Why? Discuss: What other factors might hinder the development of class conflict in the Soviet Union?	

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Afterwards, discuss: What does the evidence
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Schwartz, Red Phoenix, pp. 27-29 (on situation in 1952).
Thayer, Russia, ch. 6.
Schwartz, Many Faces of Communism, ch. 13
"The Elite of Russia," Life, June 16, 1961.

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A reference for the teacher can be found in Inkeles and Geiger, Sov. Society, p. 562.

u expect more or less class conflict in a society
h vertical mobility? Why? Discuss: What other
might hinder the development of class conflict in
iet Union?

G. Those who benefit the most from the stratification system are most likely to accept it and most likely to oppose change.

G. Totalitarianisms extend the scope of politics far beyond the usual to include almost all aspects of life.

G. In different societies or in different groups in any one society, some emotions and sentiments are strongly repressed; others are encouraged. As a result any one group has a modal personality or personalities among its adults.

G. Although culture is always changing, certain parts or elements may persist over long periods of time.

G. Changes in one aspect of a culture will have effects on other aspects; changes will ramify whether they are technological, in social organization, in ideology, or whatever else is a part of the cultural system.

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c. Since the upper classes provide the grea
est support for the regime, the Soviet
government is not too likely to take str
action to abolish some of the bases whic
have led to class differences. However,
the government did reduce wage differen-
tials after Stalin's death.

5. The Soviet government has tried to change some of the basic, values beliefs, and characteristics of Soviet citizens in order to provide greater support for some of its programs. It has also tried to make use of some of the existing values and beliefs and characteristics to further its ends.

13. Now go back to one of the lists and rankings of classes. Ask: Which of these classes provides the largest numbers of people in important positions in the government and Communist Party? Which do you think provides the greatest support for the regime? Given this data, how likely do you think it is that the Soviet government will take action to abolish class differences?

Give the class data on action to reduce wage differences under Khrushchev. Discuss: Do you think that such action is enough to lead to a classless society in the Soviet Union? Do you think the government could get rid of classes just by giving everyone equal money incomes? Why or why not?

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14. Have a group of good students present a panel discussion on "The Values, Beliefs, and Characteristics of the Soviet People: Change and Persistence from Tsarist Days."

Discuss: What has the Soviet government tried to change? How successful has it been? What values, beliefs, and characteristics has the Soviet Government tried to use to build support for its programs? How successful has it been? How do the values, beliefs, and characteristics of the people affect all aspects of the social, economic and political systems?

Mandel, Rus
pp. 71-76,
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Sov. Society, pp. 572-73.
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Mandel, Russia Re-examined,
pp. 71-76, 81-86; Miller,
Russians As People, ch. 4;
Inkeles and Geiger, eds., So
Society, pp. 607-619; Mead,
Sov. Attitudes Toward Author
pp. 28, 31-35, 38-41, 57-58;
Fitzsimmons, et.al., U.S.S.R
chs. 15-16; Bauer, et.al., Ho
The Soviet System Works, ch.
The teacher may also wish to
read Black, ed., Transformat
of Russ. Soc. , pp. 635-652.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDYING THE SOVIET ECONOMY*

Rufus Logan

A study of the Soviet economy should be presented by a study and understanding of two basic concepts: 1. The Communist theory of Karl Marx and 2. The three types of economic systems as presented by Heilbroner, especially the command and market types. Students of the Soviet economy should be able to make two comparisons: the first, how does the present Soviet system compare with the aims of theoretical Communism: and second, how does it compare with our American system? For the former, a knowledge of the Communist theories of values, wages, surplus value, capital accumulation, and the class struggle is essential, and for the latter, an understanding of the market economy as represented by the United States and the command economy as represented by Soviet Russia is essential.

It is particularly important that the teacher be well informed on these concepts in order to properly direct the students in their study and discussions. The teacher should also be informed on democratic socialism as practiced in England and certain other countries. The relationship of the Communist party in Russia and the government of Russia
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* Written during the summer of 1964.

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ialism as practiced in England
in other countries. The relation-
he Communist party in Russia and the government of Russia should be understood in order to appreciate who the "commander" is in Soviet Russia. A knowledg of Russia's economic resources is necessary. The amount of time which should be allocate to this background study will depend upon the knowledge of the students and the purpose of the course.

The two most important topics which should be studied in order to gain an understanding of the Soviet economy are, in my opinion, how the Soviet economy solves the four basic problems of economics and the Soviet economy in operation.

The Introduction to the Soviet Economy

This can be brief or thorough, depending upon one's preference on treating the materials separately as an introduction or including it with appropriate subject matter. Whether treated as an introduction to the course or considered later, the concepts to be studied are Russia's goals, economic planning, physical concepts vs. value concepts, and economic measurements. A word on each is in order:

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during the summer of 1964.

What are the economic goals of Soviet Russia? These can be summed up under the three broad areas of economic growth, industrialization, and improved agriculture output. The reasons for each of these three should be clear. If Russia can grow economically at a faster rate than the United States, it should win adherents to the system. Russia needs to concentrate on heavy industries such as the production of factories, machinery, and equipment if it is to produce a greater amount of goods and services, so sorely needed. Russia has been less successful in its agricultural program. This is not only an embarrassment to Russian leaders; it also demonstrates weaknesses in the Russian system. What are the reasons for this failure? W.W. Rostow's monograph, "Marx was a City Boy" is of interest to this point.

Russia's agricultural failure has been so well publicized by its recent foreign purchases of wheat and other products that an examination of some of the reasons for the failure together with the corrective policies which they are attempting to introduce should be of interest. The vital shortcoming has been Russia's inability to increase satisfactorily the product per man-hour and per acre. On the Soviet collective farm it requires on the average 7.3 times as many man hours to produce a bushel of grain as it does on American farms.

Some of the reasons for failure are:

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of the reasons for failure are:

the non-cooperative attitude of the peasant farmer, prior attention given to industry and thinking that the same techniques could be used in agriculture, conflicting approach on state farms, collective farms and private plots and the failure of Machine Tractor Stations (MTS). Changes currently being introduced are: a new procurement system, a new accounting system employing ruble expenditures and receipts eliminating the MTS, changing from collective to state farms employing modern farming techniques with heavy concentration on manufacture and use of chemical fertilizers.

The heart of the Russian system is economic planning. Planning is so much a part of the Russian economy and it is so much associated with Russia that it is almost politically dangerous for people to advocate any economic planning in a free market system even though it might well be needed. At the head of planning in Russia is The State Planning Committee (Gosplan). This is similar to a ministry and forms a part of the USSR Council of Ministers (Cabinet). Below this are two separate lines of plannin organizations: regional and functional. Under either of these are the planning units in the working enterprises such as state farms, factories, mines, and machine tractor stations.

Russia's current seven-year plan (1959-1965) will soon need to be replaced by a new plan which is in preparation. Accordin to Soviet statements, two more five-year plans will be needed to overtake and surpass America. It should be noted that Russia, because it owns all natural resources and all large-scale industrial equipment, possesses the first requisite to effective planning. Although the emphasis in this course is on economic planning, the planning in Russia is so complete covering public health, education, recreation, and so forth that Russia uses the term Social and Economic Planning.

The nature of economic planning in the Soviet Union has been summarized forcefully as follows: "In short, the Soviet economic plan is a gigantic, comprehensive blueprint that attempts to govern the economic activities and interrelationships of all persons and institutions in the USSR, as well as the economic relations of the USSR with other countries."[1]

Russia measures its output mainly in physical units, but in most cases in monetary values, as well, for the purposes of comparisons. Speaking in terms of physical output or value output can be confusing and Russia in releasing output data will use that measure which puts its accomplishments in a better light.

Russian output is often stated in terms of percentage of increase.
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How the Soviet Economy Solve Economic Problems

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[1] Harry Schwartz, Russia's Soviet Economy. Prentice-Hall, 1958, p. 136.

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output is often stated in terms of percentage of increase. Moving from an increasing output from 25 to 50 or from 25 million to 50 million represents an increase of 100 per cent in both cases, yet the latter would require a greater effort than the former.

National income data figures are arrived at differently by various countries, and therefore may not be comparable. Translating values stated in rubles into values stated in dollars is meaningful only when one understands the rate of exchange used. Countries often have various rates of exchange that can be used.

In general, the first objective should be to introduce to the students the basic economic concepts and goals together with the structural organization of the economic institutions of the Soviet economy.

How the Soviet Economy Solves the Four Basic Economic Problems

In a command economy separating economics into micro and macro is not so meaningful except that it suggests the materials included. It goes without saying that It is the government which makes the decisions in each of the four categories. Questions to

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Schwartz, Russia's Soviet
Prentice-Hall, 1958, p. 136.

be asked then are: Why do they make the decisions they make? How do they propose to accomplish the objective? Do they make economic sense, or are economic decisions made for non-economic reasons?

A. What to Produce

Why has Russia decided to produce so much industrial equipment when there seems to be such need for consumer goods? With insufficient resources, Russia cannot have an unlimited amount of both consumer and producer goods. Economic growth cannot be accomplished without it costing something. If a decision has been made to produce more consumer goods and services tomorrow, it will have to be at the cost of less consumer satisfaction today.

Neither can Russia have an unlimited amount of both guns and butter. Russia must decide what to her is the more important. If economic growth, or a strong army, or being the first to get to the moon tops the list of values, then current consumption must suffer.

To what extent is a government capable of restricting consumption without encouraging dissatisfaction and revolt? Has the government been currently forced to supply a greater amount of consumer goods by the pressure from a restive people? Stalin needed forced labor camps and mass executions. Krushchev promises more for the

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consumers. Is this forcing Krushchev to seek world peace--to spend less for the military, to curtail expenditures for getting to the moon in order to provide more for the consumers today?

Russia admits lack of progress in agricultural output. The foreign exchange required to import food cannot be used to import other needed products. It should be clear that many of the questions and statements above should afford the opportunity to teach many significant concepts which will demonstrate the differences in the Soviet economy with that of our capitalistic or market economy in deciding what to produce.

If a command economy has decided to produce more consumer goods, this opens the flood gates for still more decisions that need to be made. What specific consumer goods should be produced? If it is more shoes, then what colors, sizes, styles or quality? Those who will need shoes and find them available in stores will find only such shoes which an agency of government decided the people should wear. At best someone in the government decided what they think their people will want. Indeed, the government may have decided that leather jackets are needed more than shoes, and since they may lack sufficient leather to make both jackets and shoes, have allocated the leather to firms making jackets. Should their estimate turn out to be wrong, it will take time to correct the mistake. In the meantime, there will be a surplus of jackets and a shortage of shoes. People's preferences cannot be registered as effectively and promptly as in a market economy.

In a market economy the people (consumers) decide the what, how much, and for whom questions. The people determine what is produced by the way they spend their money. Dollars in people's pockets are the potential little demanders determining what a firm produces. Supplies of course influence demand by the products and services they produce and by advertising. But in the final analysis profits are made by selling people what they want. Spike heels, hoola-hoops, bell bottom trousers, top-less bathing suits and buggy whips will not be made and sold unless people want them and will buy them. The king is our country as well as any market economy is the consumer with dollars to spend.

B. Allocation of Resources

The government indirectly determines what can be produced by its power of allocating all resources. Given what to produce, resources--land, labor, and capital will be allocated only for the production of these goods and services. Since the government has a monopoly on all investments--funds will be allowed for the production of such goods and services provided in the plan and disallowed for items not permitted in the plan.

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By controlling the opportunities for employment it indirectly "forces" labor to work where these job opportunities exist--an indirect allocation of labor. A more direct control is practiced for those who obtain advanced education or technical training in their universities. They are required to work on government projects for definite periods of time. Then there are the forced labor camps for those who "disobey" the state.

The Russian labor union is not autonomous but has become an arm of the state--assisting in personnel work, providing incentive plans, determining who shall be employed and administering social security. This is further developed in the next topic the Soviet economy in operation.

Factor pricing is also used in allocation of resources. Scarce resources are priced high to reduce the demand for them, where resources in abundant supply are priced low. Individual plants competing against each other for low unit cost of production will be compelled to use the lowest priced factors. Whether a factor is scarce or not, the government can control its use by the price it places on the resource.

C. How Much to Produce

The same techniques of control used in determining what should be produced and in allocating resources are, of course, employed determining how much should be produced.

The government of Russia has placed great emphasis on the subject of growth. Not withstanding Russia's need for growth it was felt that success in growth would have significant demonstration effect. If Russia can demonstrate to the world that they can "bury the U.S. economy" this should win friends for them. Young and emerging nations would be tempted to adopt the Russian economic system.

According to a popular theory of economic growth, it is held that growth is simply a function of the rate of investment. Russia's rate of investment relative to its national income is high. Comparing the rate of investments to national incomes of various nations and observing their rate of growth can provide a fruitful discussion on whether or not we in the United States are making adequate investments to assure a better rate of growth.

There are of course other factors which promote growth such as improvement in technology, education, the ability of the labor forces and the attitude or intensity of desire on the part of the people.

Many charts, tables, and statistics are in print comparing rates of growth of Russia with that of the United States and other western countries and projecting the data into the future and speculating on when Russia will "overtake" the United States. Aside from the que
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rts, tables, and statistics comparing rates of growth th that of the United States stern countries and projecting o the future and speculating ia will "overtake" the United States. Aside from the questionable reliability of the data this game of forcasting is highly speculative and wrought with as much uncertainity as long run weather forcasting or predicting future populations of countries.

A recent table appeared in an article on the subject of when Russia's production would equal the United States. However, should Russia's rate of production increase be reduced one percent and that of the United States increase one percent it would make a 50 year difference in the estimate date. This past year it appears that the U.S. growth rate might well have increased one percent as Russia's decreased by more than one percent, a reversal of the trend of the past few years.

Another subject of interest to students of growth is to what extent a mature and affluent nation can or should grow? As a nation approaches maturity what effect does this have on its rate of growth? The subject of economic growth is of recent origin. The future should provide more reliable information about it. In the meantime if our growth rate is only about 3% per year and other European countries including Russia boast of a growth rate three or four times that of the United States, then indeed we should know why and if desirable take such steps as are necessary to correct it.

For Whom

Personal income is unequally distributed in the Soviet Union. This the Russians admit, and they even extol the benefits of substantial economic differences. At the top of the income pyramid are artists and scientists and managers of enterprises who introduce new techniques of production and those who can improve on the input-output relations. As in the United States those of the lowest incomes are the unskilled workers.

Personal income in Russia is apparently determined by four major factors: scarcity, production, personal and political influence, and public services rendered.

A change was made in 1956 to reduce this income inequality. Also real income is more equal than monetary income, made possible as is explained under the unit on pricing by putting low prices on mass consumption goods and high prices on items not necessary for a minimum standard of living. The important fact remains that Marxian theory of "to everyone according to his need" is not adhered to in the Soviet economy.

The Soviet Economy in Operation

This is a very important topic in the more macro-economic sense. We are concerned with aggregates and instruments for controlling and regulating the economy. Here we deal with the way Russia hopes to create a climate of ec
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A. Budget and Fiscal

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Economy in Operation

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A. Budget and Fiscal Policies.

The Soviet state budget is the apex of a mass of interrelated accounts showing the total operation of the economy. The fiscal policy of Soviet Russia is directed at a two-fold objective: one, as with all countries, raising adequate funds for proposed expenditures, the other, assisting with the regulation of the economy in the area of pricing of consumer goods. The U.S. fiscal policy is also concerned about adequate revenue, but the other function differs considerably from that of Russia in that it is directed mainly at affecting stability, full employment, and growth.

Depending upon what is classified as taxes, the Russian people are perhaps taxed more heavily than any capitalistic economy, about 3/5 of the people's money income. Russia's main "tax," the turn-over tax, produces over 40 per cent of the state's revenue but it is not considered a tax by the Russian theoreticians.

Because this tax is so often misunderstood, an explanation is appropriate. Its main function is the role it plays in the Soviet price policy. Retail prices are fixed in relation to supply and demand, but wholesale prices are based on average cost plus a small profit margin. The turn-over tax is equal to the gap between the two.

This is not referred to in Russian tax accounting as taxes, but a "profit" (the difference between cost and selling price) which accrues to the Soviet economy. The profit is over and above the "planned profit" which may be provided for in the budget of enterprises. There is also a tax levied on the planned profit if, indeed, the enterprise experiences a profit. This is called a "deduction for profits tax." On the basis of these two sources of income, the Russians claim that nearly all revenues are determined without recourse to taxation.

All other taxes are listed as direct taxes. The income tax which has played a limited role is now bringing in about 10 per cent of the state tax revenue.

In contrast to the United States, Russian taxes must provide for investment funds, and also the budget includes expenditures of all the rebuplics and local units of government. In a strictly market economy investment funds come from private sources. Although an increasing amount of investment funds in Russia are provided by the enterprises themselves by allowing for depreciation in wholesale pricing, only a small amount is obtained from the sale of bonds to the people.

It is important to understand how the Soviet tax policy is oriented toward the control of consumption by its unique employment of the turn-over tax.

B. Banking and Monet

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B. Banking and Monetary Controls

The financial institutions of the Soviet Union are the very heart of the Soviet planned economy. Its three separate banks are essential parts of the operation and controls of the economy.

1. The State Bank (Gosbank), the largest in the world, performs duties of both that of a central bank and of commercial banks. It has a complete monopoly on short term credits and makes long-term investments in agriculture and individual rural house building. It provides about 40 per cent of all working capital in the economy, receiving its capital from the government and an increasing amount from the planned profits of enterprisers. As a central bank it can issue currency and credit to spur production.

All state enterprises must keep their accounts in the Gosbank, pay even their smallest bills through the bank. It checks on all expenditures of economic units and refuses payments on transactions unauthorized. However, the bank is not autonomous, but a servant of the higher economic authorities. The bank serves to facilitate production and exchange of goods by providing the financial machinery.

By contrast, it does not perform such bank functions as our Federal Reserve system, namely: open market operation, raising or lowering discount rates and reserve requirements for purpose of maintaining economic stability and full employment. This function is not considered necessary in Russia because of the government's direct control of production. They have, however, experienced inflation which apparently resulted from the bank issuing too much credit to spur production and growth and failing to price goods in proportion to demand and supply.

2. The Bank for Financing Capital Investments (Stroibank) has responsibility for all investment banking except for those indicated under the duties of the State Bank. Its capital comes from taxes, sale of government bonds to the people, and from planned profits with enterprises. Investment funds are used mainly for new plants, equipment, and creation of public utilities.

Since the Stroibank's funds are kept on deposit in the state bank (Gosbank), both can check on their use.

3. The Government's Savings Bank, operating over 20 branches, provides a repository for the people's voluntary savings. Lottery seems more popular than paying regular interest. The winners of lottery receive amounts equal to from 3 to 4 per cent of the bonds held and is paid in lieu of interest. The losers' income on the bonds becomes zero.

In view of the large part played by financial institutions, the turnover tax, and the pricing system, it should be noted
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C. Motivation, Wage Ince

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C. Motivation, Wage Incentives, and Unions

As the Russians are fond of repeating, no matter how careful the plan, how desirable its target, it means nothing until executed. It is people who carry out the plan to fruition. How is this done in the absence of the private profit motive, so important in a market economy?

At the outset it should be noted that a large segment of our people, too, are not operating under the goad of increased profit. Much of the managing of our present economy is by hired people working for a better salary and higher promotion rather than profit. This is true even within our large corporations, the dominant business organization. The question should be asked whether this entrepreneurial group (management) have interests and attitudes more like the managerial elite of Soviet Russia than the capitalist owners of a business.

Motivation in Russia must be examined on two different levels: The managerial class and the mass of workers. Russia has an elaborate system of rewards for managers and incentives for the mass of workers. Negative sanctions, so repulsive to us in America, are also used. Their "trudoden" and system of bonuses are interesting. They have a well developed system of non-material rewards, such as recognition and status, used largely for motivating professional personnel to excellence.

It needs to be emphasized that except for a broad welfare base, workers in Russia do not get the same pay, that their money income is more related to productivity than to the concept of need as called for in Marxian creed. There is a wide wage differential, based upon status and importance of the job in the economy and to the individual's contribution to the economy. To the extent of the work available there is freedom of choice and the money wage differences constitute the principal method for distribution of the labor force.

It is of interest to compare the place of unionism in Russia with that of the United States. Unions are not outlawed, but are an arm of the government. Workers are considered in and of the government. The flag portrays the sickle and the hammer. The managers and workers are both employees of the state, and are indeed members of the same union.

The unions administer the social security fund, have responsibility for developing work incentives, and protect workers from abuses of management. There is, therefore, a check on each other, workers report on competence of managers and managers report on the attitudes of the workers.

D. Market Operation

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D. Market Operation

Marketing, which could be considered in connection with pricing is here considered as a separate unit to focus more clearly on the three possible channels through which goods may flow: 1. they may be exported, 2. raw materials and equipment may be sold to enterprises which use them in production, 3. finished consumer goods may flow from manufacturers through the domestic system to consumer.

All foreign trade is in the hands of the government under the Ministry of Foreign Trade with about 20 trading monopolies under it with commissions in foreign countries. The Amtorg Trading Corporation is the agency maintained in the United States. All foreign trade policies are directed toward achieving the economic and political objectives of the country. The trading monopoly can set prices low enough to assure sales where desired and high enough to buy anything desired. The Soviet Union can shift and direct its buying and selling abroad to affect political ends. This they have done in dealing with emerging countries, in developing bilateral trade and in competing with market economies and in developing foreign exchange.

The retail system has three different outlets: 1. State stores (65% of retail trade) 2. Consumer cooperatives (29%), and 3. Collective farms (6%).

The ratio of stores in the Soviet Union to the population is about 1/4 of that in the United States. The local governments keep a close watch on the retail stores. State stores obtain their merchandise on the contractual relationship with producers or wholesalers and the prices of goods sold in state stores are set by the government. Consumer cooperatives are conducted on the Rochdale principal. Collective farm markets unlike the state stores and consumer cooperatives do not have their prices fixed by the state. Retail stores may not offer charge accounts, however, since 1959 installment selling occurs for a limited group of commodities such as higher priced radios, motor scooters, outboard motors, watches, bicycles, and so forth.

The goods which are available in the retail stores are not there in a market response to an autonomous demand, but because government planners have decided to make them available.

E. The Price System

In the Soviet economy, as is true in command type economy, prices are not an autonomous force directing production, allocating resources and consumption. "Instead, prices are manipulated by the central authorities as one of the various instruments inten their planned goals."[2]

The function of the p be separated under three 1. Control and evaluatic and 3. Income distributi used by the central autho compliance to the plan ar performance of managers i tasks.

Although resources ar physical units, it is fou express targets in value physical terms to have a for physically dissimilar ating performance. Becau made chiefly by physical price is less important sources. Russia's syster compensation is based upo services rendered. But distribution of real inco the distribution of mone prices are placed on mas than on luxury goods. (tax)

It is convenient to price system more in det related sub-systems: 1. prices, 2. Agricultural and 3. Retail prices.

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[2] Morris B. Bernstein, "The Soviet Price System," Am. Economic Review, March, 1962, p. 64.

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The function of the price system could be separated under three broad headings: 1. Control and evaluation, 2. Allocation, and 3. Income distribution. Prices are used by the central authorities to obtain compliance to the plan and to evaluate the performance of managers in their assigned tasks.

Although resources are allocated in physical units, it is found necessary to express targets in value terms as well as physical terms to have a common denominator for physically dissimilar units for evaluating performance. Because allocation is made chiefly by physical amounts, the use of price is less important in allocating resources. Russia's system of unequal monetary compensation is based upon the principal of services rendered. But in order to make the distribution of real income more equal than the distribution of money income, lower prices are placed on mass consumption goods than on luxury goods. (See unit on turn-over tax)

It is convenient to examine the Soviet price system more in detail under three inter related sub-systems: 1. Industrial wholesale prices, 2. Agricultural procurement prices and 3. Retail prices.

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s B. Bernstein, "The Soviet Price
Economic Review, March, 1962, p. 64.

The theoretical question of whether Soviet pricing is "rational" pricing may well be left for advanced study. But since Soviet pricing penetrates the innermost vitals of the economic system, secondary students should at least be introduced to the big part it plays.

In connection with industrial wholesale pricing, the over-riding aim is to price at cost plus any planned profit. There is a single wholesale price for each manufactured product or mineral. With reference to agricultural prices, note should be taken of the Kolkhoz market on which the output of collective farms that is not paid or sold to the state still play an important role in supplying city dwellers with food products. Prices on this market are free and reflect supply and demand. The aim is to keep money wage rates and agricultural procurement prices constant, and that consumer prices should reflect economies in production.

A single price for each consumer product sold through channels of state and cooperative trade is the objective. In contrast with emphasis on cost in the area of wholesale pricing, retail prices are fixed to clear the market. Prices are often set to discourage consumption (Vodka) or to encourage it (shoes).

Performance and Evaluation

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results, it is important to know what one is measuring, the type of measuring instrument used, and with what one is making a comparison. For example, is one comparing Russia's accomplishments of today with those of Peter the Great, or with some other country of the same period of time? Is Soviet Russia accomplishing what she has set out to accomplish? Are the Russians adhering to the tenets of Communism? Are they doing as well or better than countries with a basically market economy? Are the Russian people paying too high a price for the results obtained in terms of other values, such as freedom and liberty? Are they winning followers to their doctrines by young and emerging nations?

It might be well to set up a list of criteria, dig a few post holes, by which we can compare in a meaningful way the performance and accomplishments of a command economy as represented by the Soviet Union and a market economy as represented by the United States.

Finally, a student of the Russian economy should be aware of the fact that there exists in Russia an atmosphere of change and reform. When an author writes about current economic policies practiced in Russia, he is well aware that a portion of what he may write will be out of date when the book is published. Experiments with organizational techniques and procedures goes on with an accelerated rate. Leaders seem quite willing to junk aspects of a plan that is unworkable and will introduce a new approach. Krushchev came to America and one of his objectives here was to learn about American agricultural production.

An uninformed person is very apt to think of Russia in terms of what it was under Stalin, or policies advocated by Lenin, and easily persuade himself that such an economy could not possibly be an efficient rival to the American system.

Many laughed at Russian claims until Sputnik. Instead of a dying economy there is ample evidence that it is very much alive and making great economic achievements and winning converts among emerging nations. Visits in Russia on the part of Americans reveal a standard of living not as high as in the United States, but they see no starving people and there appears to be relative contentment.

Their leaders are not unwilling to change aspects of their system. Rostow suggests that in some respects the Russians are moving closer to our market economy, as we in our affluency seem to be moving toward an economy requiring more government, that theirs is becoming less command and ours is becoming less free market.

Given the facts of life and accomplishments under both systems, an American will not only praise the merits of our free enterprise system with its individual liberty with more zest,
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SUGGESTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Much is written on the Soviet economy, although accurate and reliable information is scarce. Some may have been accurate when written but is now outdated because of rapid changes in policies and practices. As the government controls the economy it also controls information about the economy. The suggested bibliography should not only make more clear to the reader the economics of the Soviet Union recommended for study in my paper but should expand the reader's horizon to make more accurate comparisons with other economic systems. The list is brief--quality rather than quantitiy is the motive. For additional reading I would suggest the brief list selected by the Saturday Review and the C.E.D. in the Saturday Review of Jan. 21, 1961 on the Soviet Economy, p. 33.

1. Bernstein, Morris B., "The Soviet Price System," The American Economic Review. March, 1962. pp. 64-103.

2. Campbell, Robert W., The Soviet Economic Power - Its Organization, Growth and Challenge. Houghton Mufflin Company, Cambridge, Mass., 1960. pp. 205. A descriptive book written for the intelligent citizen. May be used as supplementary reading in a variety of courses in college. Requires no previous knowledge in economics
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3. Fitzsimmons, Thomas and others. Survey of World Culture--USSR, Its People, Its Society and Its Culture. 1960, Taplinger Publishing Co., Inc. New York. pp. 195-301.
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4. Heilbroner, Robert L., The Making of Economic Society. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1962. p. 241.
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5. Holzman, Franklin D., Editor, Readings in The Soviet Economy. 1962. Rand McNally and Co., Chicago. p. 763.
   Readings on such topics in the outline as: Statistics and Measurements, The Price System, Economic Growth, Planning, Agriculture, Finance, and the Consume-

6. Leeman, Wayne A., Editor, Capitalism, Market Socialism and Central Planning--Readings. 1963. p. 372. A book of readings on comparative economic systems which can be read by college and advanced high school students. Many of the articles are on subjects included in the outline.

7. Loucks, William N. Comparative Economic Systems. Harper and Brother, N.Y., 1961. p. 801. One of the best college texts on the subject of comparative economic systems. The theory of Marxian socialism and communism is clearly presented in Part III. Socialism and Communism are compared and contrasted in Chapter II. Excellent unit (Part III) on the economy of the Soviet Union. Its concluding chapter on the future of capitalism should be read by everyone. Parts III Capitalism, V. British Socialism, and VII and VIII on Yugoslavia, Red China, and India are not necessary to the study of the Soviet economy with the exception of the unit on capitalism for purpose of making comparisons with the United States.

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in comparative economic systems. About 40 pages on the USSR and other Communist economies. The approach is to study competing economies by the way they try to solve the four basic problems of what, how, how much and for whom. More useful as illustrative of an approach to the study of economics in Russia rather than its content.

9. Nove, Alec, The Soviet Economy - An Introduction. 1951. p. 328, Frederick H. Praeger, Inc., N.Y. Can be read and understood by a non-specialist with interest and some knowledge of economics. Stresses the features of the Soviet economy which distinguishes it from market economies. The first part is descriptive of its instituitions and shows its evolution. The second and third parts deal with problems, ideas and concepts. It concludes with the crucial subject of whether the system can cope with a mature economy and to what an extent it is a model for underdeveloped countries.

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economies. History of planning, distribution of income and allocation of resources. It is non-technical and not beyond the comprehension of advanced high school students.

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A good text on the Soviet economy up to 1954. It has a brief appendix on the economy from 1954 to 1958.

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